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POLITICAL PORTRAITS.

SIR WILLIAM GARROW, KNT.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

THIS gentleman has distinguished himself at the bar (where he rose to the highest professional eminence) for a great number of years, by his uncommon talent for extracting the truth from a reluctant witness, as well as for his abilities in pleading, and doing the best for his clients.

No lawyer in the kingdom is better qualified, either by legal abilities or by unwearied industry, to fill the place of his Majesty's attorney-general, and it does not by any means appear that he will be inclined to stretch the arm of authority too far.

Even the judges on the bench have testified their disapprobation of *ex officio* proceedings when resorted to too frequently, or without necessity, and it is not only to be hoped, but to be expected, that Sir William Garrow will take care not unnecessarily to employ such a deservedly obnoxious mode of proceeding.

The great, and almost constant difficulty that the attorney-general has to encounter, arises from the incomplete state of the law respecting libels, for though much has been done to bring it nearer to something perfect, and something certain, yet much remains to be done. The slow progress made by able lawyers in reducing this law to something like a fixed principle, is, that the cases which occur are of infinite variety; and that instead of recurring to, or seeking for, a basis upon which to proceed, every case has been taken as it stood, and the courts have groped their way much as pilots navigated the sea before the discovery of the magnetic power of the needle.

One great difficulty of settling the law of libel is, that, as the liberties of mankind are intimately connected with the freedom of the press, we are, very properly, in a free country, extremely jealous of

any power that might be extended to crush that liberty; and, as mostly all literary men make a common cause, a general alarm is excited the moment a prosecution for a libel is in question.

This alarm is the greater, that there is no defined boundary between what is, and what is not a libel: if that could be once laid down in a fair and complete manner, that anxious jealousy that now exists would cease, and the trials for libel would be greatly diminished in number.

Words are attributed to Lord Mansfield that have caused great uneasiness, and have been universally, almost, condemned, but the words were not fairly quoted. His lordship is represented as having said that "the greater the truth the greater the libel," whereas he in reality only said, that in certain cases "a libel was not the less a libel for being true*."

Be matters as they may with respect to what has

* In the supposed case, truth would constitute a libel; but, according to the true statement, all that his lordship said went only to this, that a libel might consist in stating what was true, that is to say, that it may in some cases be libellous to state the truth.

hitherto been done in regard to libels, it is very certain that too much pains cannot be taken to draw a line that will in future prevent anxiety or misunderstanding; a line by which the writer will know whether or not he transgresses, and by which prosecutors, judges, and juries, may know how they are to proceed.

Every right enjoyed by man in a state of society is limited by law, as well as in many cases by custom, and by what is found to be to the general advantage to consider as a regulation. Law can never apply to many of the lesser nicities of human affairs, which are regulated by the general sentiment and feeling, out of which arises custom or practice, and therefore there are a vast number of things that are just as completely forbidden as if they were against a positive statute; and it is to be observed, that there is a still more curious distinction arises from the circumstance of an action being necessary or useful to the actor, which use or necessity renders fair what would otherwise be considered as improper; and in the case of speaking and writing, these minute regulations are much more important than any written law.

If in treating this subject I give some examples

that are laughable, it is not through levity, but the better to illustrate what I aim at demonstrating.

If a man finds it necessary, for the purpose of clearing up his own conduct, to relate a fact injurious to another man, which under different circumstances would be punished as a libel, he will be justified on the ground of necessity; though, with respect to the person injured, there is no difference whatever.

If, for example, I am in a house of bad fame, if a murder is unfortunately there committed, and I am accused of it, but if I can clear myself by discovering that a married lady, hitherto living in good repute, by accident happened to be there, I shall not be guilty of any libel in *publishing* the fact which will be to her eternal shame and ruin, but which, if I did without necessity publish, would be punishable.

The utility, or absence of utility to the person propagating an injurious report, is so much connected with speaking or writing, that it must in every case be considered.

If I see two men, with whom I am no way connected, employed in making a bargain, if I say to the seller that he sells too cheap, that he is wronging himself, and will get more from some one else,

I do an injury to the person wanting to purchase; though what I say may be very true, I am highly blamable, for it is not my business: but if I offer a larger sum myself, though I do the same injury to the same man as before, I do not incur the same blame. In the latter case I am not acting to injure him, I am trying to benefit myself in a fair way.

If a lodger in an apartment who had no turn for music happened to live in an apartment contiguous to one who had a very delicate ear, and if he unfortunately, by way of learning to play on the violin, kept scraping constantly so as to make the other quite miserable, and greatly annoy him, he would do him an injury, but still the conduct would neither be illegal, nor a just cause for offence; but if, instead of trying to acquire a new talent by this infernal noise, he were to make a disturbance, by constantly whistling on a cat-call, or springing a watchman's rattle, the inconvenience sustained might probably not be so great to the unfortunate neighbour, but his cause of complaint would be incomparably greater. He might then have even a legal remedy.

When some cobler or other artizan, takes it into his head to go to pass the day abroad, and to shut up in his garret a half-starved dog to annoy the

whole neighbourhood, (which unfortunately is frequently the case), he does that neighbourhood an injury, he makes a certain number of persons less happy for a certain portion of time; but as he has a justifiable motive, namely the preservation of his dog, he is not punishable.

In speaking or writing, a motive, and a justifiable motive, is necessary, in all cases of injury complained of.

The liberty of the press is no doubt the foundation of all other liberty in nations so situated as this is, and as such it is very highly valued, and ought to be very carefully preserved; but then we must examine what is the true meaning of the term Liberty of the Press. Liberty to write is certainly the same as the liberty of speech, *from which it differs not in any respect in essence, though it does in its mode*; the one being the communication or expression of thoughts by sound, and the other by visible figures; the one addressing itself to the understanding by means of the ear, and the other by means of the eye; the one to a small number around, the other to the world at large. This is so simple a truth, that it may appear useless to state it, yet the utility of that statement is nevertheless real; for though in their

essence, liberty of speech and of the press are the same, there are some great distinctions.

Speaking is a right used by all, and so constantly, that the use and abuse of it are perfectly and generally understood, particularly, as it is coeval with mankind, and universal.

Writing is less generally practised, and is less ancient. Now, the very circumstance of the one being universal, and the other not, makes a difference necessary in the law that regulates the rights; not that the rights are in themselves in any respect different, but that, from circumstances, the one is more liable to be abused than the other.

As all persons can speak, they are to a certain degree upon an equality, and the one keeps the other in respect, to avoid retaliation; but in writing, some men have no talent, and even if they had *ability*, they have no means of publishing their writings; while others make writing a trade and occupation, and are furnished with periodical means of giving their writings publicity.

In writing, then, there is a great inequality in the power of annoyance, and therefore the law ought to be very strict. It is certainly necessary to prevent mankind from being annoyed and made

miserable by men who happen to have the abilities and the means*.

Though it is not to be supposed that on a subject where the ablest lawyers have exerted their talents, a man who does not belong to that profession can make any great discovery, yet the following definition of a *libel*, though perhaps not quite complete, is nevertheless given, being such as will not prove either a dangerous or useless guide for juries.

" To speak or publish what is injurious to ano-
" ther, may be libellous or not, according to circum-
" stances. If a man, in order to vindicate himself,
" accuse another *falsely*, that is a libel. If he injures

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* About forty years ago the practise of libelling individuals, either directly or by inuendo in the public papers, began, and there are yet living some persons who sprung from indigence to honours and affluence, by such dishonourable proceedings.

There has been a continual effort made by the law lords to crush such publications, and they have nearly succeeded in regard to individual libels; but state libelists, by enlisting under the banners of party, convert what is intended as privation, into a profitable employment, and what is meant as ignominious, into a triumph. The difficulty is doubly great in suppressing such libels, as imprisonment and the pillory are, to some men, rather objects of ambition than otherwise.

" another by publishing a *truth* with which he has no " concern, that also is a libel. But if he publishes " *a truth in his own vindication*, (or to obtain any " lawful end of his own) though it be to the injury " of another, that is no libel."

In the first case the libel consists in the falsity of the statement, and in the second in not having a justifiable motive, or lawful end in view: this much at least is certain, that truth spoken for a justifiable purpose never can be construed into a libel; and falsehood, if injurious to another, whatever the end may be, must be libellous.

As no gentleman at the bar has had more experience than Sir William Garrow, and few of them have had so much; as he is, besides his experience, by nature possessed of an acute discrimating mind, there cannot easily be conceived any person more fit or capable of assisting in bringing the law, in cases of libel, to some fixed principle. In endeavouring to do that, there is no doubt that the present lord chief justice, Ellenborough, will concur, for he has already done much towards the correcting and ameliorating the law-practice with regard to libels*;

* The constant abuse lavished on the judges by some of the Sunday papers, is rather an honour than otherwise, to those judges. Some

for though it is most essential to the liberties of mankind that the press should be free, it is not less essential to their happiness and safety, that it should be restrained from breaking out into licentious ness*.

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men are always at variance with law; and such, whether they are bold banditti, sneaking pickpockets, house-breakers, or libellers, all in their own line, curse the judges. When the refuse of society governed in France, and the most wicked and criminal directed affairs, one of the first acts of their power was to guilotine the judges, twenty-four of whom perished upon one scaffold on one day! The most upright judges in every country might expect the same fate, if they fell into similar hands.

* There are three sorts of libels—1. Libels on individuals.—2. Libels on the state, or public men.—And 3. Libels on foreign powers. The definition of *libel* given will apply completely to the two first descriptions of libel, but some other rule ought to be taken with respect to the latter species. As it may in some instances endanger the safety of the country, it ought to be repressed, on the simple principle, that no individual has a right, for his own advantage or pleasure, to libel the rulers of foreign states, and thereby bring danger on his country.

Notwithstanding the very able and brilliant defence of M. Peltier, for libelling Buonaparte, made by Sir James M'Intosh; notwithstanding that Mr. Peltier, as a loyal Frenchman, had said nothing too much; and notwithstanding the atrocious manner in which Buonaparte had acted towards France; yet it is impossible to wish

The example of what censure was incurred by the too frequent recurrence to *ex officio* proceedings by his Majesty's late attorney-general, will, no doubt, added to the good sense of Sir William Garrow, prevent him from falling into a similar error; one,

the publishers of such works to be protected in time of peace. The government of this country scarcely ever acted on so erroneous a principle, or under a more mistaken idea of dignity, than during the short feverish fit of peace that Europe enjoyed. The English ministers stooped to tell a falsehood, when they declared that Mr. Peltier, an alien, could not be prevented from publishing libels on the first consul, knowing, as they did, that an order to quit the kingdom, or the bare intimation of such an order, would have been sufficient; and it must be fairly admitted, that, though Peltier felt naturally and properly enough for a Frenchman, yet England was not bound to suffer for the irritation of his feelings.

This subject is of more importance than at any former period, on this account that, (let the world enjoy repose when it may), there are new men risen to power on the continent, whose origin and former adventures are not to be mentioned without offence; and therefore, in order not to let such libels again either bring quarrels on the nation, or interfere with national honour and dignity, some provision against a recurrence of similar practices should be made.

It is well known that prosecution only gives publicity to a libel, it is therefore not the sort of satisfaction calculated to satisfy the arbitrary ruler of another country, who knows nothing of the

indeed, far more alarming, and far more dangerous to the liberty of the press, than even the severest legal restrictions, as a man may thereby be ruined and deprived of peace of mind, without being found guilty, or even brought before a jury.

English law, and cannot conceive that such a proceeding is any thing more than mockery and insult, as it augments the injury sustained, without avenging the offence.

This subject requires serious consideration, in order that we may never again see a prosecution at the king's suit brought on by the remonstrance of a foreign ambassador.

The French government, notwithstanding its insolent tone in speaking of other nations, and its indifference as to whether it offends or not, has never joined in the calumnies raised against any of our royal family. It has *never magnified the faults, exposed the foibles, or rejoiced in the affliction* of any one member of that family.

In these observations on libels, such offences as Mr. Eaton's, in publishing Paine's Age of Reasons, are not taken into consideration. Works that tend to undermine religion or morality ought to be suppressed, and the authors punished, but the offence appears to require some other name than that of a libel. The nature of the offence is very different from calumny, in which libels generally consist.

SIR VICKARY GIBBS, K. T.

THIS able lawyer, whose reputation as a gentleman, and as a profound and acute professional man, was great before he became his Majesty's attorney-general, struck upon the rock of an honest man rather too zealous for the cause in which he was employed; and probably he was misled by acting on a conviction for which the public is not willing to make a sufficient allowance.

Having been one of the defenders of Thomas Hardy the shoe-maker, Horne Tooke, and other patriots, in 1794, he probably got into many secrets respecting the plans, the principles, and the means of such men; but whether he did or not, he could not but know, that to libel the government, and public men, was become a profitable occupation; that it procured men money and friends: that this (at a time when the nation is struggling for its liberty, and for that of all the world) was a practice that ought to be suppressed* is doubtless, as being dan-

* It is most singular, in the history of this new era, that the

gerous to the state, and indeed to the whole nation; and that the man who can be accessary to such transactions deserves punishment; and therefore, having settled in his mind that the end was good, he paid little attention to the means, and proceeded by the short, obnoxious, and unfair mode termed *ex officio**, thereby depriving the accused of one of

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same men who excited discontent here at the time that France was supposed to have established liberty on the widest basis, and to the greatest extent, do so still, though the French government is the most despotic that ever, perhaps, was established, or known. This is the more amazing, that they must see, that were it not for Britain, the same cruel despotism would cover the whole habitable globe. In fact the pretended friends of liberty are now fighting against freedom; and the only consolation we have on this score, is to see, that *whenever any individual* patriot has an advantageous opportunity for himself, he deserts, and goes over to the other side, so that, consequently, the patriots all mistrust each other, and are constantly quarreling amongst themselves.

* The *ex officio* mode of proceeding was never intended but in cases of great emergency, when time required uncommon expedition, or when the nature of the case was such that sufficient grounds for a trial could not be made out before a grand jury, although they might be sufficient to get a man found guilty when he came on his trial. In such cases, this summary mode of proceeding derives its justice only from necessity, and consequently, when not necessary, is not just.

the best, and the firmest barriers* against oppression, and the only barrier an honest and innocent man has against *persecution*, namely, the grand jury, which is an admirable invention or device, without which the trial by jury is but a mutilated institution: it resembles a broken piece of machinery, of which we admire the construction, and lament the inutility.

Mr. Gibbs was much admired and praised before he was attorney-general, and no man was more abused than he was after he accepted that office, which is the less to be wondered at, that most of the prosecutions, *ex officio*, were against the liberty of the press†; that is to say, that he occupied him-

* The grand jury prevents any proceedings against a man where there are not good grounds for suspicion; but, by setting it aside, an innocent man may be tried, and though acquitted, be a great sufferer: this is oppression. As to persecution, it may be thus: the attorney-general holds a man to bail, and frightens him with legal proceedings, drops proceedings when the cause is ready to be tried, so that a man cannot vindicate himself; and even, if he pleases, he may revive the proceedings after a long interval of time. As the king pays no costs, this is very expensive; and, as to the destruction of comfort and peace of mind, those are self-evident.

† The law of libel is so badly understood, and so inadequately defined, that there is no wonder prosecutions cause alarm, as in addition to

self, as it were, in ransacking a hornet's nest, and to be stung was a matter of course, and therefore to be expected.

Sir Vickary is now removed from a political station, perhaps for life, but probably for a length of time; and it must be said, in answer to his friends, that when attorney-general, his zeal exceeded his discretion, and blinded his judgment; and to his enemies it may with no less propriety be

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this the punishment is arbitrary and undefined also. From a few days imprisonment, and a shilling fine, to a severe fine, long imprisonment, and the eternal disgrace of the pillory.

Our English courts go too much upon law-practice, and too little upon law-principle. At the end of two or three centuries we may perhaps get at something like a *libel-law, which it will cost an immense labour to apply. The French pay too little regard to precedent, and make very foolish and inefficient attempts to legislate on theory and the nature of things;* but there is a medium between the two. The English error is certainly the least dangerous, as it is safer to keep to the coast than to go to the open sea without a compass.

The basis of the law of libel is simple, but many volumes might be written on its application. The basis is this: truth spoken to the detriment of another, where one has no concern, is a libel. What is false, spoken to the detriment of another, whether one has or has not a concern with it, is a libel. But *the truth spoken, when one is concerned with the business, is not a libel.*

observed, that though he was wrong in the manner he took to do what was right, yet that he never attempted to disturb the peace of a man who had not himself tried to disturb the peace of some one else; or if not the peace of an individual, the peace of society, which is a still greater crime.

The effects of the libels against the French government, (when it ceased to punish libellers), were so fatal, and so evident, that much is to be said in defence of what Sir Vickary did; yet no man will be sorry to see the whip of Mr. Attorney-general in less active and less vigorous hands: we say less vigorous and less active, without making any allusion to abilities; for moderation and mildness are not less nearly allied to ability than they are to vigour; as honey is as useful in medicine as vinegar, and in the administration far more agreeable.

The higher line of politics is not within the sphere of an attorney-general, and his education to the bar naturally leads him to look only to one side of a question; that is to say, to be prejudiced, partial, and unfair in his arguments, leaving to his opponent to be equally prejudiced, partial, and unfair*; it is not therefore to be expected that he will

* The honourable business of a barrister is one very contrary to

look to the general effect of his proceedings on impartial men, but to the circumstances of each particular case as it comes before him; otherwise it might be expected that he would see that in a nation that cherishes freedom, it is extremely dangerous to give the least ground for complaint to those who call out against oppression

As *ex officio* proceedings may cover oppression, it is very easy, (proceeding by hypotheses), to raise a great alarm on their account, though it does not follow that men are to be oppressed, because there is a way to commit oppression.

When the *habeas corpus* act was suspended, no

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the principles of honour at any place but at the bar. To do the best for a client is the only consideration; and to ruin the innocent, or save the guilty is quite a secondary consideration, or rather it is no consideration at all with a barrister. This is one of the best and most practical illustrations of the dangerous opinion, that morality consists not in natural right and wrong, nor in any law of divine origin, but merely in the institutions and customs of mankind. It is not to be supposed that an attorney-general, bred to the bar where the point of honour is of this nature, can have the same feelings that ordinary men have; and therefore, if not checked by all the barriers possible, he runs a great risk of alarming the friends of freedom, who are only doing their duty when they watch his motions very strictly.

man, however innocent, was safe, according to theory, yet it was never, we believe, alleged that any innocent man was molested. As it is wise to err on the safe side, a jealousy of whatever may crush liberty is much less dangerous, even if carried to an extreme, than apathy and indifference.

We have no doubt that as a judge, Sir Vickary Gibbs will redeem his character, and that instead of his name being coupled with *ex officio* prosecutions, it will be coupled with justice and mercy; but it would be flattery and deception not to admit, that as matters are, his name stands in some need of redemption*.

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* The best way, after all, of judging of an attorney-general's conduct, is to examine whether he has attacked innocent men, or let the guilty escape. Without offence be it spoken, Sir Vickary never prosecuted for a libel without probable grounds, though he let thousands pass unnoticed. The *ex officio* proceeding, itself improper, was in no degree amended or softened by his manner, which was peculiarly severe, and sometimes rose to downright ill-nature. In this portrait of Sir Vickary we have not made a barrister's pleading; for the good and evil, if not spoken with truth, have been at least spoken with impartiality: the error, if error there is, arises from judgment, not from intention.

DAVIES GIDDY, ESQ. M. P.

A MEMBER of parliament who takes a very active but a very moderate line in politics, and who is said to be remarkable for his candour and liberality in regard to political measures.

Mr. Giddy is the more to be praised that most men who are active in politics are inclined to be intollerant towards those who are their opponents; as, on the other hand, those who view things with impartiality, are generally indolent or indifferent, by which means their talents are lost to their country.

Why or how it happens that Mr. Giddy, who is in every way qualified for becoming an active member of the present government, has not any official situation, we cannot say; but whatever that reason may be, it were to be wished that it may speedily be removed, for it is only in a very imperfect way that a man who is not in an official capacity can serve his country.

The influence of members of parliament is the cause of introducing many men into office who have not any abilities; and by the simple, but neces-

sary effect of introducing such men into office, the same influence excludes men of talents who have no protection.

This is perhaps one of the greatest disadvantages that is attached to the representative system, for nothing is more expensive than a system of favouritism. It is expensive in a double way. Talents are excluded, and there is but little industry where men trust to protection, not to merit*.

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* Wherever a general abroad has conducted an expedition badly, his appointment has been traced to parliamentary interest; and if the errors in the commissariat and different departments were looked into, they might most probably be traced to the same cause. Whoever goes into any of the public offices in the afternoon, will find them empty; or at best a few of the lower order of clerks only. If one goes in the forenoon, he will find the upper clerks, who are esquires and gentlemen, reading the newspapers, and conversing on indifferent subjects, and quite prepared to give an insolent, or at least a careless answer, to any stranger that applies to them on business. The lower clerks are generally employed in dipping new pens in ink, that they may sell them to a second hand stationer. These observations do not extend to a few (a very few) of the chief clerks, who attend with great diligence to business, and transact it with great ability; and it is not a little singular that those who are the most able, and most attentive to their duty, are also the most civil to strangers. It would appear that the same protection which

The French government, which has been the only one regularly and systematically opposed to that of England, has enjoyed an immense superiority from this very circumstance. It was more efficient, and less cramped in its endeavours.

For "piping times of peace" no government is better than that of England; but when war is the order of the day, it is far from being equally admirable; if, however, those men who are not the immediate abettors of government were to act with the independent moderation and abilities of Mr. Giddy, the representative system would be subject to much less inconvenience than it now is; but such an event is not to be expected, and indeed is incompatible with the nature of man, let the representatives of the people be chosen how they may.

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insures those gentlemen of impunity for idleness and negligence, insures them also against the consequences of insolence. It is impossible to quit a public office without thinking on Hamlet's soliloquy on the miseries of life, amongst which the insolence of office ranks one of the first, that "patient merit of th' unworthy bears."

GENERAL SIR THOMAS GRAHAM.

Sir Thomas Graham is a strong proof of the power of natural propensity, and the existence of innate talent; the existence of which has been held in doubt by Mr. Adam Smith, and most of the fashionable philosophers of modern times*.

It has been held that education, or information obtained by means of the senses, constitutes almost the only difference between men, in regard to talents,

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* There are few stronger examples of natural genius, and innate propensities, than Mr. Smith himself, who surpassed, in his inquiry nto the nature and causes of the wealth of nations, all the writers on political economy that had gone before, or were his cotemporaries, though many amongst them had far better opportunities of understanding the subject. Neither his line of life, nor the country in which he lived, were the most fit for giving that knowledge in which he excelled. He did not collect it from men, nor from books, nor experience: it was in great part original, and the produce of his own genius. Were Sir Isaac Newton, or Lord Bacon, or Locke, or Hume, better educated than other men? Was Mr. Herschel educated half so well as half the men bred at the universities, who are not to be compared to him in any one way whatever? What was the education of Shakespeare?

abilities, and reasoning faculties. It is not very necessary to trace the connection between this doctrine, and that of materialism, for that is pretty evident; but it may be very well to shew the absurdity of a doctrine of which this able and brave general is a strong example.

Mr. Graham of Balgowan was only distinguished, in the early part of his life, for elegance of manners, an uncommonly correct taste in literature, and, in general, a love of the arts. Having occasion to go to Italy, for the health of one of the most amiable of wives, whom he had the misfortune to lose in the early part of the revolution, his mind became incapable of enjoying quiet and repose in still life. He sought relief for his secret grief, not in the misery of others, (for never man had a heart more alive to compassion), but in scenes that interest the mind, and call it from the melancholy contemplation on a past object of affection, that is lost, to scenes where attention might solace the mind, by consciousness of actual utility.

Mr. Graham elucidates what Pope says —

> The same adust complexion has impelled
> Charles to the convent, Philip to the field.

He took refuge from his grief in Toulon, when besieged, and there he, though no military man,

gave assistance, the value of which was appreciated at the time, and acknowledged afterwards.

That place surrendered to the enemy; Mr. Graham still finding that *post equitem sedet atra cura*, took refuge a second time in a besieged city, and Mantua served to gratify his turn for the military art, and to occupy his uneasy mind*.

At Mantua, as at Toulon, his military genius assisted, while his liberal mind, and ample fortune, administered all the relief to the suffering inhabitants that could be procured in so circumscribed and painful a situation, till that strong fortress fell. Though his genius was prized, and his services appreciated, yet being of a line of politics in opposition to ministers, neither the one nor the other met with any reward, till, by perseverance, he obtained a

* Nothing is more natural than for a good man, of fine feelings, to seek solace from living active sorrow and grief, where his participation may be of some use. Barren sorrow for a dear object irretrievably gone is the most insufferable of all mental sensations, and nature, in pity to mankind, makes it, in general, of short duration; but, unfortunately for Mr. Graham, that was not his case, and he had no remedy but to seek for some interesting object. Ordinary men, with his ample fortune, would have sought relief in gaming, or hunting, or in dissipation; but "Mr. Graham cared for none of these things."

regiment, with the rank of colonel; and he at last fought his way till he became a general officer.—Once more it was his fortune to be in a besieged city, and assist in preserving the liberties of the oppressed and much injured people of Spain. On every occasion he displayed abilities of the first rate, and a mind superior to every difficulty; and the whole nation was proud of his conduct at the battle of Barossa, one of the most perilous in which British troops were ever engaged, and from which they came off victorious, by an uncommon display of abilities, courage, and conduct.

At last this general became the companion in arms of the brave Wellington, one of the ablest captains of the age, and had the glory of assisting in expelling the French from the peninsula of Spain.

It was in that fine, and much injured country, that French audacity first met with a check, and that the revolutionary armies found a foe that converted their glory into shame, and taught the world to know that they were not invincible.

The bayonet was used now to wrest from the oppressors of mankind victories obtained by the practice of intrigue, and the use of gun-powder and gold, which three things gave the French a superiority

over other nations, till they endangered the liberties of mankind; and absolute necessity obliged the great nations on the continent to unite cordially and firmly to crush the monster that threatened them all with destruction.

"Spare your powder, and give them plenty of steel," were the words of General Graham, when he attacked the French on the heights of Barossa. It is by powder the French have conquered, and it is by steel they must be resisted, and till this truth is firmly believed and acted upon, Europe will enjoy no permanent security; no secure repose.

The importance of preventing the French from again troubling the repose of Europe in the manner that they have done, is great beyond description; and as no guarantee can be obtained from a nation in such a state of fermentation, so lost to honour and to moral principle, and so misled by wicked and designing men, other nations should seek security in another way, and that can only be found in depriving that people of the means of conquering others, for of the will and inclination it is impossible to deprive the inhabitants of that ambitious nation.

Previous to the reign of Louis XIV. France might properly enough be said to have been on an equality

with the other great nations of Europe; and indeed it was not till the reign of Henry the Great, that she rose even to an equality with the German empire, and the kingdom of Spain.

Unfortunately for mankind the French, who are the most turbulent, the most ambitious, and most active and restless people in the world, have gradually increased in power, during the two last centuries, and that power has of late been directed to the enslaving of other nations in a manner heretofore without example.

The former French government, though ambitious, was guided by principles of honour, and the people were humane and civilized; but the late revolution has completely obliterated every vestige of honour and humanity from amongst them; and, to use the words of the Abbé Raynal, has, "by a species of infernal magic, converted the finest kingdom in the world, into a den of thieves, robbers, and murderers."

It has now become a matter of the most urgent necessity to guard against the injustice of French ambition, supported, as it is, by great physical means, and uncontrouled by any moral principle; and there seems to be no permanent security, except in depriving her of the means by which she rose to

her present superiority, for superior power must be admitted where the resistance of single nations was unavailing, and where the coalesced powers of Europe find a great difficulty in reducing her to a situation such as may be necessary for their future safety.

Much may be done by combined efforts, whilst under a sense of general danger, and smarting under the feeling of recent injury. It would, however, be betraying great ignorance of the history of the world, and total unacquaintance with the power of French intrigue, to trust to such a combination for permanent tranquillity or lasting security.

The extent, population, genius, and disposition of the French people are unalterable; other nations should then do with France as the Romans (the greatest warriors and most profound politicians in the world) did with their enemies, when they found them superior in any of their modes of fighting.

That great people applied themselves immediately and incessantly to discovering in what the superiority of the enemy consisted, and they either endeavoured to obtain the same advantage that the enemy possessed, or to deprive the enemy of that advantage.

Proceeding, then, on the Roman plan, it will be

found that the preponderating power of France takes its date from the introduction of fire-arms, and the use of the musket; for besides what we have seen of late years, we have the authority of Montesquieu for saying, that the Swiss, and other mountaineers, lost their superiority when they adopted the use of the musket, and that they then became inferior in the field to the French; and what that able writer observes with respect to the French and Swiss is more or less true with regard to the Germans, Spaniards, English, and other nations, with whom the French have been used to go to war.

Gunpowder has not only the effect of putting the weak and little man on an equality with the strong and bulky; but so far as the musket is in use, it gives to the smaller man a superiority, as he has the advantage of opposing a smaller vulnerable surface.

In addition to this advantage enjoyed by all men of a lesser size, the French are uncommonly active and adroit. They move their limbs, and particularly their fingers, with a facility that no other people possess, so that their recruits are almost immediately fit for actual service.

As, previous to the revolution, France had always

large and well disciplined armies, this peculiar advantage was not perceived; but when, in 1792, the regular army was disorganized, and greatly reduced in numbers, it became evident. The victory at Jemappe was one of the first consequences of the facility of training; but it was not till after the total destruction of the most formidable army ever led into the field, in the attack on Russia, that Europe saw the full extent of this engine of power.

In less than five months an army of three hundred thousand raw recruits was led into the field, and, when disciplined by a few veterans, made a formidable stand against the combined powers of Russia, Prussia, and Sweden, and finally of Austria also. It is thus that armies composed chiefly of boys, of 16 or 17 years of age, are able to stand against stout men of riper years.

In order, however, to be sure in establishing the important fact, let us consult history.

It was about the time of Henry IV. of France, and Elizabeth of England, (towards the end of the 16th century), that the lance and bow and arrow began to give way to the use of the musket, and from that period France began to increase in importance, and her progress in power kept pace exactly with the adoption of fire arms, which took

place not all at once, but gradually, till the end of the sixteenth century. The use of the musquet was only partial and incomplete, till the invention of the bayonet; for the musqueteer and fusileer as they were termed, though they had an advantage over lancers, when at a distance and advancing, found themselves totally unequal to the contest when they approached, and came to close quarters.

This state of things occasioned one half of each regiment to be armed with pikes, and the other half with muskets, which in reality reduced armies to about half their numerical strength, for at a distance only half the numbers were engaged, and at close quarters the other half. This continued to be the mode of arming and fighting till 1695, when the bayonet was invented at Bayonne, by the French.

The first bayonets were merely daggers with wooden handles stuck into the muzzle of the musket; and though this enabled the musqueteers to assist when they came to close quarters, yet they could no longer load and fire.—A great victory over the troops of Spain and Savoy was the first result of this invention.

The present form of the bayonet was soon after this invented, and by degrees lances were entirely

laid aside. There are, however, several French military books, written about the time of the regency, (1720), in which the lance is called *La Reine des arms*, (the queen of arms), and in which Louis XIV. is blamed for having laid it aside with too little consideration, and too hastily.

The probability, however, is, that the able politicians and generals who surrounded Louis, perceived the advantage which the adoption of fire-arms gave the French; and, as France led the way in the military art, other nations fell into the plan without foreseeing the consequences.

About sixty years elapsed, during which the use of the lance was completely laid aside, and France, notwithstanding a national bankruptcy, and a most improvident government, continued to increase in power; and part of the Netherlands had been added to the possessions of old France; and Spain, which after the death of Charles IX. held France in subjection, had gradually sunk into an acquiescent and subservient ally.

Such was the situation of affairs when the French revolution began, (of the nature of which it is not here necessary to speak), which soon took a turn which endangered the safety of all the neighbouring nations.

The French jacobins, or, in other terms, those anarchists who boasted of establishing liberty and equality in France, laid a plan to destroy all monarchies, and extend their system all over Europe.

This led the way, necessarily, to hostilities, and in 1792 armies took the field.

The old armies were disorganized in France by the new change, and their ranks thinned by desertion and mutiny: but when danger pressed, the rulers of France raised numerous armies, of raw troops, who, by means of enthusiasm, and learning to use the musket expeditiously, and their great numbers, first repulsed the invaders, then became assailants, and soon after conquerors.

To those who saw the stout athletic regular troops of Germany, and the half-clothed, and half-disciplined regiments of the French, in the early part of the revolution, it seemed quite inconceivable that victory should remain with the latter; but so it generally did. Their numbers, their quick movements, and expert use of the musket, gained the day.

It is not said with any disrespect to the French as a nation, but as an illustrative comparison, that the French, in using their fingers, and in the plia-

bility of their limbs, are more like monkies than like men; and as the expert use of the musket only requires this monkey-like talent, the raw French troops are enabled to engage with advantage the veteran troops of other nations.

On every occasion where the bayonet has been used, the French have been found inferior to their opponents; but within these few last months, this has been found to be more the case than ever it was before. The youths, torn from their parents by conscription, have been found good soldiers so long as they fired at a distance, but when they approached to close quarters, they have been unable to stand against their stout opponents.

For the above reasons, it would be of the greatest advantage for the powers of Europe to encourage this mode of fighting, thereby wresting from the French that superiority which has enabled them to overrun Europe, and which it is so essential to prevent them from ever being able to do again.

The world has never seen so bloody or so terrible a war as the present. Never before were nations dragged into hostilities with so much injustice, attacked with so much ferocity, or, when overcome, treated with so much cruelty.

Though the advantage of employing the bayonet against the French is evident, yet the superiority of the lance or pike over the bayonet at close quarters is not less so. The Polish lancers at the battle of Talavera shewed the superiority of the lance very distinctly, if indeed it were necessary to shew, by experiment, that a crooked, heavy, awkward, and short lance, (that is, a bayonet), must be inferior to one of which the length is greater, the weight less, the grasp more easy, the form straight, and more manageable in every way.

The pike or lance is like a pitch-fork, a weapon that every one can wield according to his strength. It may be termed a natural weapon; and what is desirable, is to have a weapon where the lance is combined with the fire-arm, in another way, making the lance the first object, and the fire-arm the second, in place of making, as now, the lance, (that is, the bayonet), the second object, and the musket the first.

There was last year delivered to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, a fire-pike, on this construction—One that can be more quickly loaded than a musket, that can be pointed with more certainty, and that weighs one-fourth less, though it is

two feet longer*. It is highly desirable to try this weapon on a few regiments, as it met with great praise from General Sir Robert Wilson, who in handling it repeatedly exclaimed, "It is an admirable weapon." All the powers of Europe are interested in ascertaining the merits of this weapon, and in adopting it if found to answer as expected, and as indeed it scarcely can fail to do.

There is one observation to make—The bayonet has answered so well, that there is a great bias in its favour; and bayonet against bayonet it is excellent, as a short dagger against another short dagger would be; but against the lance it is a very inferior weapon.

If this is adopted then, in the words of General Graham, the coalesced powers may give the French

* His Royal Highness examined the weapon with the most becoming and praise-worthy attention. He trailed and handled the pike like a soldier; but when the artillery officers at Woolwich had it to inspect, they only looked at it. They were quite above trying its merits, and they acted as they did on a similar occasion to Sir Sidney Smith, who on retiring said, with much good humour, that "He had long navigated the North Sea, but he never saw so much "cold water as in Woolwich Warren."

"plenty of steel", without, however, on the approach, sparing the gun-powder.

It would appear that the French have nearly run their race. They have nearly completed the circle, and necessity will bring things back to their natural level, which is, that though nations may occasionally fight, no one will be able to hold all others in subjection, as it has been the ambition of France to do, and as France for a time has done.

Sir Thomas Graham, who was the first to place the British standard on French ground, after Lord Wellington had driven their marauding armies out of Spain, is now going to assist in establishing freedom in Holland! What a glorious military career for one who began to be a soldier after the age of forty, when many men think of retiring and seeking ease.

LORD G. L. GOWER,

A DIPLOMATIC character, of well-tried abilities, but whose mission to the continent was at the unfortunate period when an evil star prevailed, and baffled all the efforts of Great Britain. Honour and reputation are seldom ever acquired where there is not success; and on the contrary, where success is, there honour and reputation are almost certainly acquired.

The dark ages that succeeded the fall of the Roman empire were of vastly longer duration, but they were scarcely at any period more dismal, than the disastrous period that followed the fall of the throne of France. Desolation of states, and degradation of monarchs, were the only things that were witnessed for twenty years, after the savages of France burst forth from the centre of Europe, (and from the most civilized nation), to overrun the continent, nearly as the uncivilized hordes of the north had burst forth in the fifth century. As it was during this dark period that Lord L. Gower was employed, and before there was any prospect of en-

proaching light*, he could do nothing of importance where, in fact, there was nothing to be done.

One of the circumstances that chance produces,

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* The darkness spread gradually over Europe from 1793 till 1808, when it was at its greatest pitch. The first step towards a change arose out of the atrocious, unprovoked, and unwise attack of France upon Spain. This was a remarkable era, when a ray of light broke forth. Having deprived the people of that country of their king, they were obliged to comply and submit as a people, or to make war and resist as a people. While a weak king was at the head of affairs, he could let Buonaparte rule Spain at second hand without any difficulty; but the matter became very different when the intermediate means of oppression was removed, and when the slavery assumed its real form, then it was that the flame broke forth that has since illumined Europe, and expelled the darkness that had covered it. First, the resistance of Spain and Portugal, aided by a generous nation, and commanded by an able general, taught other nations that the French were neither invincible nor irresistible; and secondly, it shewed that if a people are determined to be free, they will be free.

The wild attack on Russia that succeeded gave another brave people and their magnanimous emperor a similar motive for resistance. It was instantly made the war both of the chief and of the inhabitants, till all Germany caught the spirit of resistance of wrong, and the sacred flame of liberty blazed all over the continent, and expelled that worse than Gothic night that had covered desolate and degraded nations.

which brought forth the most observation on this nobleman's character, was the lamented murder of the prime minister of England by the hand of an assassin who complained of injustice done him by the English government while Lord G. was in Russia.

Bellingham the assassin turned out to be one of those unfortunate madmen whose imagination gets deranged on one single point, but who, on all others, reasons correctly enough. What appears the most strange in the business is, that Lord L. Gower seems to be the person with whom he had the most reason to be offended, by his own account: yet that he made no attempt to be revenged on him, which would have been very easy. He, on the contrary, sought another victim, to whom he was personally unknown, whom he attacked with considerable difficulty, and whom he succeeded in murdering in the midst of a considerable number of people in a most strange manner.

There are some circumstances attendant on this atrocious act that deserve attention.

Bellingham complained of Lord Gower, but he had no particular complaint to make of Mr. Perceval. He might at any time have obtained an audience of Lord L. Gower, and without difficulty have assassinated him; whereas he did not even know Mr.

Perceval by sight when he first formed the design; and after he had, by looking through an opera glass at a distance, learned to know the man, he deliberately entered the lobby of the house of commons, amongst a number of persons, and, as if he knew the moment Mr. Perceval was to come, shot him the instant that he entered. This was done with a promptitude and firmness almost without example, and both the action and the motive astonished every one.

It must be remembered that just previous to the fatal event, the inflexibility, and a sort of scornful and contemptuous deportment, were complained of in Mr. Perceval, who, it was said, without half the abilities of Mr. Pitt, carried matters with a much higher hand than ever he had done. This, it appears probable, had worked on the mind of Bellingham, nearly as the misfortunes of France had worked on the mind of Charlotte Corday, when she murdered Marat*; so that he went

* There will be many persons who may feel offended at any comparison; but let them observe, the comparison only applies to the workings in the minds of the persons who committed the murders, and by no means to the persons murdered, than whom no two could be more unlike. Marat was a monster, and boasted of his

with firmness and deliberation, as if he had been going to do a good action, instead of committing an atrocious crime. The crime was not followed by remorse, and the miserable man seemed not to deplore the deed, but to lament that a virtuous private man was the victim, and himself the instrument.

Let those who in their parliamentary* speeches represented Mr. Perceval as possessed of inflexibility and arrogance, before the fatal catastrophe, and who joined the general eulogium of the mildness of his character after he was no more, consider the consequences of such conduct. There always appeared an affectation of tenderness to the character of Mr. Perceval, that, coming from certain persons, was rather forgetting what had before been said.

The fate of Mr. Perceval was certainly to be deplored, but truth and consistency are never to be forsaken; and as there were many complaints of the high hand with which he ruled, the complaints

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crimes; Mr. Perceval was a good man, and was very anxious to be thought so.

* What is here said may be verified or contradicted from parliamentary reports of the time.

must either have been unfounded, or the posthumous praise undeserved.

Bellingham certainly thought he had done a bad action for a good purpose, and that he had served his country; and there are not wanting many who think that if he had done it a little sooner, there would have been no war with America. This is, no doubt, mere conjecture, but certainly it is not the conjecture of a few only, but the belief of many; and never did the death of a worthy man produce less regret, or regret of less continuance, or that had a less wide extension. The man who appeared, and was thought to direct every thing, was cut off from the stage, and things went on as well as before, with this only apparent difference, that there was less rigidity.

There is great illiberality in making severe remarks on a man who is gone, and cannot answer for himself; and when taken off in the lamentable manner that Mr. Perceval was, the illiberality seems to be attended with want of feeling: but the remarks here made are not relative to Mr. Perceval: they apply to those persons who spoke harshly of him while alive, and were the first to praise him when he was no more. That was, however, but a sorry species of magnanimity, though it assumes its

appearance; and we may say as Pope did of those who neglected living merit, and pretended to esteem it when gone—

He help'd to bury whom he help'd to starve.

There was either great injustice in the language of certain members towards Mr. Perceval, a few months previous to his death, or there was an affectation of admiration afterwards. As to lamenting his fate, all must do that; but lamenting a man's fate, and changing our opinion respecting him, are two very different things; so different, indeed, that to connect them together, betrays a great want of discrimination, and is what may properly enough be termed a vulgar error, though it is far from uncommon; but it is not the error of enlightened minds.

Lord L. Gower, so far from appearing to have acted in an ill-natured or indifferent manner, to the unfortunate man who assassinated Mr. Perceval, appears, when in Russia, to have outstripped the bounds of his duty as an ambassador, in order to give him assistance, and to afford him protection*.

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* There was certainly something unaccountably strange in the deranged man seeking for no victim but Mr. Perceval, and flying at

—— GRANT, ESQ. M. P.

A YOUNG member of the house of commons of great promise, whose powers as an orator are far above ordinary, and who to a knowledge of business appears to add much taste and correctness.

Mr. Grant's speech on seconding the address to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, at the opening of this parliament, was in every part correct, and in some parts splendid; and, in the present state of the house, such talents in a young member give great hopes.

It has been of late remarked, that since those great orators Pitt, Fox, and Burke are gone, there

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him with such resolution before, and without remorse after. He must have been led away by a prevailing opinion, that the unbending character of Mr. Perceval was the cause of the stagnation of trade, and continuance of the war. This opinion was formed from replies made to him in parliament; and the public was certainly not a little surprised to find all parties, immediately after the catastrophe, joining in praising him for mildness, suavity, and the very qualities he was represented as wanting.

is nothing passes in the house of commons to attract much attention; that there is a mediocrity unexampled for at least more than half a century: but let us examine this.

In the house of peers there are no remarkable orators who have quitted the scene, yet there also the debates have lost their importance, and the public does not, as it did twenty years ago, give to them their attention.

It is not, then, to the loss of the three before-named orators that we are to ascribe the loss of interest in the house of commons, at least not to that alone, but to some cause that operates equally in the other house; we may therefore inquire what that cause can be.

Since the renewal of hostilities with France, the whole world has seemed aware that it was one last and deadly struggle for liberty or slavery; and as those who were not warm in the support of that struggle were but few in number, opposition to government was feeble, unavailing, and uninteresting. We have been intent upon things, not on words, and therefore the speeches in both houses have lost their interest; we have been waiting for some great event, and the smaller and less important

pass deservedly, and naturally, almost without notice, or at least without inspiring interest.

The orators themselves have no object for exertion, for all that is to be said on one side is nearly self evident, and therefore, like an axiom in mathematics, does not require demonstration. On the other hand, the opponents of government have had no ground to support any efficient opposition; it is therefore the times and circumstances, and not the want of talents, that have occasioned that lamented sterility of genius in the orators of the day. Were Mr. Pitt alive, could he entertain the house with the ambition, or the downfal and misfortunes of the wretched and mistaken despot? or could Mr. Fox any longer boast of the glorious revolution? Would not the one find his task useless; and the other find his impossible?

When new times and circumstances create objects concerning which men can debate with force, then shall we find no want of those abilities which, in former times, have adorned the British senate, and which even now are not wanting, though for their use there is no occasion, nor for their display any opportunity.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY GRATTAN, M. P.

With the great abilities, the eloquence, and patriotism of Mr. Grattan, it is a matter of much regret and mortification, to see united such a spirit of party, that, in place of trying to procure the amelioration of his country in those ways where party views do not interfere, he attaches himself to obtaining advantages that ministers resist. With all his excellent, admirable, and brilliant talents, Mr. Grattan is the tool of a party, and a lamentable instance he is of that mistaken point of honour which induces a politician to prefer fidelity to his party to every other consideration*.

* What the French term *esprit de corps*, a disposition or spirit which leads churchmen to prefer the interests of the church to the primary interest of mankind at large, for which the church itself exists, is strongly evinced in party-men. All parties in politics are only for the good of the whole—for the general benefit of a nation; and even party-men themselves allow this, as they draw all their merit from their love of the public good. Yet strange enough it is,

Mr. Grattan has declared, that he found Ireland as if in a state of tutilage and infancy—that he has seen that country arrive at a state of manhood and independence; yet Mr. Grattan joins in the imperious demand for what is improperly termed the emancipation of the Roman catholics. Such a man as Mr. Grattan might be expected to counteract, by his counsels, his conduct, and his example, the known impatience and impetuosity of his countrymen, and to direct their views to what would make them most happy and prosperous; but Mr. Grattan

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that they adhere to party invariably, without considering whether in so doing they are not going against the interests of their country. This is what Mr. Pope would have termed mistaking the scaffold for the pile, and it literally is so. Public advantage is the end, and the exertions of party are the means; therefore, except so far as they tend to obtain that end, the exertions of party are of no value whatever. This party-men must admit; but they may say, that when a man enlists under the banners of party, he resigns his individual right of judging and acting; he becomes a part of a whole, the general utility of which being once admitted, he is not to break its character, or wound its inviolability, in consequence of any particular opinions of his own. This is a sort of sophistry which leads to great misfortunes. It undoubtedly gives stability and strength to party, but it makes it a weapon that is as liable to do harm as to do good—it makes it dangerous.

has not done so, for though he has never gone to the violent extremes of party, he has not exerted himself to restrain the violence of others.

One great error of the patriots of Ireland, as they are termed, or rather as they term themselves, is that of attributing all the evils they labour under to government, when the greater portion arise from their conduct to each other.

If landlords will not encourage tenants, and if farmers will not treat their labourers with liberality, what can the government of the country do? How is government to interfere, or regulate matters? Government cannot possibly interfere, except in certain cases, and by no means can it meddle in those occasions where alteration is the most essential.

Were the proprietors and tenantry of Ireland to make the lower classes comfortable, they would make them industrious, and then the country would become prosperous and rich. Would the gentry forego present advantage for future benefit, they would ameliorate their estates, and the situation of those who live upon them; and if they would see into their affairs themselves, and treat directly with the cultivators of the soil, instead of having middle-men, who save them some trouble, and live at their expense, they would produce a real amelioration in the

country; but the same laws that secure to men in a free country the enjoyment of their property without control, enable the indolent to be rapacious, or the ignorant to make a bad use of that property. Mr. Grattan's enlarged and enlightened mind must tell him, that the chief misfortunes of his country arise from causes that government cannot remove, but so far as government can interfere for the better, he should point out the way, and not, by dwelling on imaginary evils, increase discontent, and thereby augment the very object of complaint.

Ireland has been an ill-treated country, and its grievances only began to be redressed from the accession of the House of Brunswick to the British throne; and it is certainly not a little discouraging and vexatious, that complaints are now made in a more bitter tone than at almost any former period. The complaints of the catholics, which we hear so much of, and which, even were they listened to, would do so little for the country, are urged with a degree of impatience, that, were there no other reason for resisting them, would of itself be a sufficient cause.

Intollerance in matters of religion betrays a superstitious age and great ignorance; but it is none

of the errors of the present day: on the contrary, indifference has assumed the honourable name of liberality, and it has become the fashion to listen to those who contend for an equality of all modes of worship.

Mr. Grattan certainly does not go the full length with those persons who would make the Irish catholics entirely independent of government, and who would leave the sovereign no controul over the nomination of bishops; but something more might be expected from his liberal and enlightened mind. He should resist what he will not support, and what would be attended with no little danger were it to be granted.

It was reserved for the catholics of Ireland to contrive a church establishment where the altar should be entirely independent of the throne, as if it were not necessary, even for the sake of public tranquillity, that such a connexion should exist, and as if it had not always been so in every well regulated state.

The head of the church of Rome has been reduced to a situation that commands pity, and the private virtues and known piety of the Roman pontiff naturally disarm those who would criticise his conduct; but nevertheless, it is right to observe,

that he has wanted firmness, and has but offered a feeble and equivocal resistance to the despot under whose power he is; and as that despot is the greatest enemy of England, and the leading Ireland to revolt is one of his favourite objects, the Roman catholics should consider that their situation is such as intitles the sovereign to be upon his guard.

Toleration is preached up with rather a bad grace from a Roman catholic pulpit, since it is well known that in every Roman catholic country there was no toleration. There was no toleration in France till the revolution*, and after that there was

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* Previous to the revolution the protestants in the south of France were fain to go amongst the rocks and the mountains to attend divine service. Rabaut de St. Etienne, one of their ministers, was a deputy to the first assembly, and, as was natural enough, was one of the most strenuous in putting all religions in France upon an equality. That same Rabaut soon repented, however, of the error he committed: for he found, as always will be found, that where religions are all put on the same footing, there will soon cease to be any religion, and he was guilotined by the atheists, the worshippers of nature, and of the goddess of reason.

The French priests who came over emigrants to this country, notwithstanding the manner in which they were received, could not comprehend that the protestants were Christians. A priest who held in great abhorrence the Duke of Orleans, and who was greatly in-

not much religion of any sort. There is no toleration in Italy or Spain, or any Roman catholic country to this day; for France is not to be reckoned on at present as any example.

The Roman catholics of Ireland may say they are not French, nor Spaniards, nor Italians, and it is very easy to comprehend that they are neither, and to admit that they are not answerable for what is done in those countries; but, speaking of them as catholics, having the same universal and immutable tenets, held from a source that they conceive to be infallible, we must consider, that in matters of religion they would act on the same principles if they had the same power.

It is well known, that if all the demands of the catholics were granted, still they would not be contented; and, indeed, it would not ameliorate their situation

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debted to an English gentleman, a man of great virtue, who died at the time that Orleans was guilotined, was asked by a friend whether he thought his benefactor or Orleans was the surest of going to heaven? The priest held down his head, and, after a short pause, answered, "Ah, monsieur le duc etait catholic,"—"Ah, Sir, the duke was a catholic—That is, he, the wickedest of mortals, would go to heaven because he was a Roman catholic, and the good man would not.

much, and would only lead to further demands. Mr. Grattan cannot be ignorant of this; and again, it must be mentioned as a subject of much regret, that so well-informed a gentleman does not command his party, instead of being led by it. He is by much the most able of the Irish members on his opposition side, and his reputation and known integrity would enable him to do more than any other man in regard to settling Ireland.

The impatience of the Irish nation will not let the union have a fair trial*; and it appears in this case plainly, that the same party that opposed the union, considers it as a duty to condemn it still, and to render it unpopular.

That men of ordinary minds, imitators, abettors, and the underlings of party, should act in this manner, is not surprising—It is natural that such men should make up in zeal for what they want in talents, and, not having the power of discriminating between opposition to a measure intended, and misrepresentation of a measure irrevocably adopted, they persevere; but Mr. Grattan is in every respect

* An Irish gentleman being lately asked, whether Ireland did not thrive better since the union, said, "No, but the truth is, *Ireland thrives in spite of the union!*".

a first-rate man, and his talents would be most usefully and most becomingly exerted in making the union as popular in Ireland as he has it in his power to do. Whether or not the union was a good measure or not, a true friend of his country, whether Irish or English, ought to make the best of it: but the true state of the case appears to be, that the union was the best measure that could be adopted for Ireland, and that when brought to greater perfection, by degrees it will do away many of those grievances of which Ireland has complained.

There have always been a number of speakers and writers who have stirred up discontent in Ireland; and when the union with Scotland took place, Dean Swift, in his obscene and unfair mischief-making allegory of "The Two Sisters," persuaded the people of Ireland that Scotland had got an unmerited preference. Now that Ireland has been united on far better terms than Scotland was, discontent is excited; so that there is no method of pleasing Irish patriots, who seem to think it their duty to make their countrymen discontented with their situation*.

* The Irish nation, lively, and easily excited, but little given to reflection, think that all those who assist them to complain, are

Having mentioned the union with Scotland, which was the greatest blessing that it could enjoy next to the union of the crowns, it is well to observe, that fifty years elapsed before that country felt any benefit from it, but on the contrary, it seemed to go backwards; however, the people were patient, and now the advantage is more and more felt every day.

Those who wish to understand this subject, may read the Earl of Clare's speeches; they will then be able to judge whether the Irish people have reason to be discontented with the manner they have been treated since his present Majesty came to the throne of England; and if they would compare Mr. Grattan's speeches, they would see that he also has borne testimony to the amelioration of the state of Ireland.

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their friends. They do not perceive that the greater number of such friends are seeking their own interest, and playing upon their passions.

THOMAS GREENWOOD, ESQ.

THIS gentleman's house is agent for more than half the British army, and very unlike most others who have great success, and more than their share of business, that firm is more obliging, accommodating, and attentive, than almost any other in the same line.

The manner in which officers enter into the army, and in which they live when there, renders the place of an army agent particularly important in this country.

The British army is officered by two different sets of men, the one of affluent fortunes, and the other dependent on their pay. It will be said, the same is more or less the case in every country; and no doubt it is so, but then there are circumstances peculiar to the British army entirely.

In the first place, the pay of officers is nearly the same that it was in the reign of Queen Ann, a century ago, when every necessary of life was at half its present price, and when many articles were not one-third of what they are now. As the pay was not then more than sufficient, it is now quite in-

sufficient to enable the officers to live like gentlemen.

In the second place, the commercial habits of this country oblige each person to pay his share with a sort of accuracy much more like clerks in a counting-house, than gentlemen who are companions in arms, and at the same mess, with very unequal fortunes.

In France, or Scotland, or Ireland, and indeed in every country but England, the rich take a pleasure, and think it a duty, to ease their indigent but honourable companions: and indeed, to a generous mind, nothing can be more natural. But however correct this mode may be, it is certainly attended with inconvenience to officers in the line; and much to the honour of the militia officers, with them it is different.

A third, embarrasment that falls to the lot of British officers, arises from the expense of their dress, and the capricious orders often given for changing it.

And to conclude—The fourth disadvantage, which completes the whole, is, that the law of arrests for debt being more strict in this country, more prompt, and more expensive, absolutely brings

ruin on a young officer, if he ever gets into embarrasment.

Under such a situation, the officers have often great occasion for the kind offices of the agent of their regiment; and likewise, the agent has a very difficult part to act. If the agent be rigorous, and extremely exact, he must subject the officers to great inconvenience: and if, on the contrary, he be too easy, then he may ruin himself, without doing the officers any material service.

It is no small praise, having so many regiments, that the house of Greenwood and Cox has acquired wealth, and given general satisfaction*; and in a variety of particular instances rendered most essential service.

There has been for several years a rumour afloat, that government intended to abolish the agencies,

* We know it from certain information, that many officers have owed their salvation to the well-timed pecuniary aid, as well as friendly advice, of Mr. Greenwood. This we are also assured arises not from the mere feeling of friendship for the person he serves, (for he serves too many to feel that for them all), but from a still nobler motive, namely, a desire of rendering all the service, and doing all the good he is enabled from his situation. When such a man is in such a place, it is a real blessing to those with whom he is connected.

and take it into its own hand; but a worse measure could never be adopted. Wherever public administration is employed, every thing must be done with perfect regularity, without any respect to persons, or attention to particular circumstances, and however urgent the case: nay, however safe the advance might be, none could be made; and ten pounds for a single day, were it to save the life or credit of the best subaltern in his Majesty's service, it could not be given.

Mankind are too irregular in their conduct, and liable to too many accidents, for justice to be laid to the *line*, and judgment to the plummet; and of all men, young officers, full of ambition, and seeking reputation, even in the cannon's mouth, are most to be excused for inattention in money matters. They ought therefore to be the most carefully protected against the fatal consequences of errors to which they are more liable than other men, at the same time that the consequences may to them be more fatal.

Of all the reforms projected in this age of reform, this of a government agency is the most to be deprecated. It would probably be attended with no economy, and it certainly would be with great inconveniency and disappointment.

We know that the army agents are looked upon with a jealous eye by those persons who seek to couple abuse with whatever is attended with profit and particularly if any of the royal family are supposed to be connected with it.

The great number of regiments for which Mr. Greenwood is agent has been ascribed to the influence of the commander-in-chief, who, on the other hand, has been represented as deeply indebted to Mr. Greenwood.

Nothing is more absurd than the first opinion; for if Mr. Greenwood's house did not give satisfaction to the army, no influence would be sufficient to procure for it so many regiments; and if it does give satisfaction, that cause alone is sufficient for the preference it has obtained.

As to the money said and supposed to be advanced to the commander-in-chief, it is a calumny fabricated by the designing for an evil purpose*, and circulated by the credulous, without either attention

* We have had occasion repeatedly to notice, that, all over Europe, there are a set of persons occupied in calumniating princes, and all who are nearly allied to the ancient race of sovereigns. The jacobin emissaries first began, and then those of the French despot, whose fall will perhaps crush that race of private disturbers of the public peace.

or intention, but merely as a piece of scandal; and we have it from the best authority, that, except in regular official business, or friendly society, there never was any connection.

His Royal Highness certainly knows the merits of Mr. Greenwood as an army agent, and there is not a doubt that he, when it falls in the way, recommends him*. To suppose otherwise, would be to consider the Duke as neither acting like a man, nor a commander-in-chief, who had the interest of the army at heart.

We have dilated a little upon this article, on account of the malignity of some, the credulity of many, and the interest of the brave officers of the British army.

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* At most of the regimental messes, after the royal family, Mr. Greenwood's health is given, which, from British officers, who are no flatterers nor hypocrites, is a direct and unequivocal proof of their esteem; and that esteem can only be acquired by his correct and friendly conduct in his connexion with those officers.

LORD GRENVILLE.

OF the surviving political characters who acted a remarkable part at the beginning of the present revolutionary war, Lord Grenville is one of the chief; and it is fortunate, that at the very moment his portrait is to be drawn, that great event seems hastening to a conclusion.

Lord Grenville, under the auspices of Mr. Pitt, took the part that was worthy of a British peer, and it was the French revolution that raised him to importance. We then saw him carrying those antigallican, or aristocratical principles, that have since triumphed over the mad democracy, to an extreme. But when we see this lord, who was once so firmly attached to the plan which has preserved England, go over to its opposers in the hottest of the contest, we are apt to exclaim in lamentation with the king of Israel—

"How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the "battle!"

Lord Grenville's reason for deserting the cause which he had supported, and joining the violent opposers of his former friends, has never been explained by himself; yet no man is more able to give explanations, and, on certain occasions, no man is more ready. His lordship delights in a display of that accuracy, and discrimination that distinguish between points which to ordinary minds appear the same. Without running into the metaphisical absurdities of which some orators are guilty, or passing over errors with the indifferent levity of others, Lord Grenville delights in handling a difficult question, and demonstrating what one is reluctant to believe. Of all the difficult questions that have occurred, and of all the questions we think most important for his lordship to resolve, the first is; why he left the company of Mr. Pitt, to associate with Mr. Fox and Earl Grey?

Did his Lordship become too high and too proud to be second to William Pitt; and did he think to become the first with his new companions? Is this scandal, or is it truth? Or, did any new light break in upon his lordship's mind, and prove to him that he had all along been in the wrong; and that his opponents were in the right? Or was his lordship

one of those who, imagining that Britain would ultimately fall before the sublime genius that governed France; (and who pretended to fix the destiny of nations), think also that it was prudent and well to prepare in time a sort of propitiatory offering to the enemy of England?

Be this as it may, how mortified must that Lord be, to find how far he has been mistaken; and that he has been constantly struggling against the tide! Whilst the French were carrying all before them, he was their bitterest enemy; and just when fortune was about to change, did his lordship pass over to the other side, and now he sees himself the outcast of his original political friends, and the friend of political outcasts: the friend and companion of the men who have been always for lowering the British flag, to the proud and haughty emperor (self-created) of France.

Had Lord Grenville remained true to his old principles, he would have been the only one of the old cabinet ministers who would have been in at the death of the revolution, which would have indeed been a matter of triumph; but as it is, let him seek consolation in his family importance and academical robes, we can administer none to him; and

we should think that he must view his new companions as Satan, from the limbo of vanity, looked at the sun, when he thus addressed the object that reminded him of his former greatness:

" To thee I look. But with no friendly eye,
" To tell thee *Foxites* how I hate thy sight,
" That brings to my remembrance from what state
" I fell."

There can be little cordiality amongst the fallen politicians; for neither pride of place, nor ambition of power, nor any mortal passion is gratified; and they now see the mighty little man to whom they bent in Paris reduced to the importance for which his own abilities, stript of adventitious aid, have naturally intended him.

The following character of Lord Grenville has lately been given in the letter of an elector, which is not so well known as it deserves to be.

" Lord Grenville is a very clear and a very intelligent speaker. Although sufficiently logical in his discussions, and capable of the rich diffusions of eloquence, he is, like all great orators, sparing of ornament. Appealing rather to the understanding than to the passions, his lordship is perspicuous without tediousness, and precise without embarrassment. Having long acted a conspicuous part in

Mr. Pitt's administration, he is perfectly conversant with all the forms of office; and can adopt the language of diplomacy with facility and advantage. His choice of words and phrases proves that he possesses the delicacy and propriety of language, the just appropriation of terms, as very seldom any word or phrase used by him can be replaced by a better. In both houses there are many and various kinds of speakers, but very few debaters; such as can start at a moment's notice, and at all times and on all subjects acquit themselves with superior ability. Lord Grenville is certainly one of the first, perhaps the very first, of all the debaters in either house of parliament. On questions of finance, relations with foreign powers, the policy and laws of nations, his lordship can always take a luminous and a comprehensive view. He is vehement without being indelicate, and persuasive without endangering the ground of his argument. Like all the branches of the house of Grenville, he is remarkable for intellectual endowments; and his various readings and researches in science are far beyond what may be naturally expected from the leisure of an active statesman. His lordship is rigid in the discharge of all moral and religious duties."

Such is the man who, having many of Mr. Pitt's

best political qualities, had only to have adhered to his old standard to have inherited at this time an ascendancy in office, and the chief direction of public affairs.

Agreeing most completely in the opinion of THE ELECTOR* with respect to Lord Grenville's talents as a speaker, we only deem the more inexcusable his political apostacy, for such we must term it. Mr. Fox did not come to Lord Grenville, nor did he meet him on his way. He stood stubborn and still eulogizing the French revolution, and calling it the finest fabric raised by human skill, thereby indirectly accusing his lordship of pulling down, or aiming at pulling down, that famous fabric†.

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* The letter written by Mr. Peter Stuart.

† If it were possible to see *Mr. Pitt*, *Mr. Burke*, and *Mr. Fox* resussitated for one day, and seated at the table with *Lord Grenville*, and reading the despatches from Leipsic and Holland, it would be the most complete spectacle of contrast that ever was witnessed!!! The two former exulting in their foresight, their fortitude, and the triumph of their country and of the liberties of mankind; Mr. Fox, with his false predictions and his unexampled obstinacy, incapable of defending his former political conduct; and Lord Grenville, equally ashamed to see his first companions and his last. The revolution had completely failed, and was condemned by every man in France long before Mr. Fox, for the last time, praised it as the greatest fabric of the human mind.

Next to the political error of uniting with Mr. Fox and Earl Grey, was that of attempting to procure in an indirect manner from his Majesty, privileges for the Roman catholics of Ireland, which Mr. Fox, had he been living, it is believed, would never have attempted to obtain, or which, at least, he would have been too frank and manly to seek by any indirect crooked means. Mr. Fox, in the coalition, had every advantage over his lordship, he made no sacrifice of principle or of party, but kept his preponderance and his place, while Grenville made a sacrifice of every thing that could be dear to a political man, and, above all, to a proud man.

It would be well worth while to dilate on this character, but for one circumstance. His lordship has fallen never probably to rise again. He cannot come over to the men who have persevered in the politics of Mr. Pitt, and saved Europe; and they will never go over to him; and, wishing his lordship the longest political career, his natural life will not probably see such a change of politics as will restore him to power. The present victory is not of an ordinary sort. The ministers who make peace will not, therefore, have to leave the helm, and that peace will not, probably, be so evanescent as former

ones have for the most part been—A great end will have been obtained, after a struggle unexampled both for its violence and duration, as well as for its extention over many nations: so that a number of years may probably pass over before the English people will drive from the helm those ministers who, by adhering to a *right line of conduct*, have saved them and the world from a greater danger than it was ever threatened with at any former period.

Lord Grenville and his associates may have plenty of time to cabal, but where are they to find materials?

EARL GREY,

A NAME that is constantly associated with that of Grenville, since the memorable time when one of those noble lords went into the king's closet, and the other stood listening at the door: a name also that, very properly, is always allowed the priority, as that of a consistent man ought, (even if he

is wrong), to enjoy over an inconsistent one, if, indeed, an inconsistent man has the right to any such association.

Mr. Grey, in his political career, was the most opposite that is possible to be conceived to Lord Grenville, they were absolutely political antipodes; and the time was, when the great aristocratic lord, then minister for foreign affairs, would gladly have seen Mr. Grey, and some dozen of his companions, sent out of the country, as men subversive of peace and good government. But time,

> "Whose gentle influence makes a calf an ox,
> "And brings all natural events to pass."

has at last brought this unnatural coalition, and the two noblemen stick to each other as the shirt of Nessus did to the body of Hercules.

Lord Grey must now keep silence; for all that he has hoped, and all that he has feared, have turned out shadows. He opened his career of politics soon after the American war, with predicting the ruin of England, and hoping for a reform in parliament.—England is not yet ruined, and parliament is not yet reformed. The French revolution was next to spread happiness over the face of the earth; but, in place of that, it spread horror and desolation. His next prediction was, that the British armies would be

ruined in Spain, and that Buonaparte would subdue the world. The British armies have expelled the French from Spain, and the whole of Europe has risen as one man against Buonaparte. The Roman catholics of Ireland he hoped to serve, and he did them a great injury. He hoped to be believed in preference to his sovereign; but the whole world, even his own companions, knowing the honour and veracity of the sovereign, have discredited every word that the noble earl said.

The opposition have been what the French call *aux abois* during a long period, and now they are *hors de combat:* that is, in plain English, they have long been at their wits' end, and now they are totally disabled. Their last predictions have failed, and their opponents have gained over them a great, and what is worse, a permanent victory.

Lord Grey was for some time in administration; he is one of those who formed the ministry denominated "All the Talents," which was the most unlucky ministry we ever had: it miscarried in every thing, and finally was dismissed with disgrace, but not before it had done sufficient mischief to be long remembered.

It was our intention to have dwelt longer on the errors of the talents, but utility is our object; and

they are so completely sunk in public opinion, so unlikely is it that they should ever again have any political consequence, that it is not very material to dwell on their errors. They have gone to work with too much decision, and been too completely mistaken, to be any longer dangerous: as public men, therefore, we shall leave them, giving an account of Earl Grey as a member of the house of lords.

Lord Grey is a speaker of considerable ability. Although respectable and impressive in debate, his speeches have a sameness of matter and manner, sufficiently long, but seldom above mediocrity. He is free and unembarrassed in elocution, and has an imposing, but arrogant attitude. He affects much candour and fairness of discussion; but his tones of voice, and boisterous delivery, ill accord with sentiments of impartiality. Intemperate and overbearing in disposition, his various amiable qualities are often obscured in the shade; and, from an obligation conferred through such a medium, there must be a considerable deduction for the tax imposed upon one's feelings by a haughty or supercilious deportment, which wounds the bosom it was intended to relieve. He delights in the noise and bustle of debate; and, if certain of a regular supply from his

physical resources, his lordship would have no objection to extend it to twenty-four hours, or twenty-four days. From being the avowed leader of the modern whigs, he is supposed to have stept into the shoes of Mr. Fox: but he wants the good nature, as well as the sort of fascination that were remarkable in that great leader of the opposition party.

Although the noble earl is not very likely again to figure as an efficient politician, yet politicians may take an excellent lesson from him. It is one of the privileges, and not one of the least of the advantages, of the *living* to study from the dead: and as Lord G. is politically dead, it is fair for living politicians to learn from him.

We have said, that an obstinate inflexibility was one of the greatest characteristics of the present age, and one of the greatest errors into which the present race of public men are apt to run.

Inflexibility is defined by obstinacy, when in a bad cause; and firmness, when in a good one: but we do not exactly agree in the accuracy of this definition. It is not the goodness or the badness of the cause that constitutes the difference. A man may be blameably obstinate in a good cause; and

many men are termed obstinate who act upon the true principles of firmness and fortitude, mistaking a bad cause for a good one.

It is not, then, the real goodness or badness of the cause, but the appearance that it assumes to him who supports it, that constitutes the difference between firmness and obstinacy; the one of which is a good, and the other a bad quality.

Earl Grey seems to be obstinate; for the cause he supported has frequently changed its complexion, as well as its nature, but he has not been the less inflexible.

His first aim was for a reform in parliament, upon what is termed principle, proportioning the representatives to the number of constituents. This was at a time when such a scheme had not been actually attempted to be reduced to practice; but now that it has been tried and found dangerous and detestable, yet he still adheres to it as firmly as ever.

His next great attempt was to resist Britain, when she interfered in the continental war, at the time that France wanted to enslave all the world, in the name of liberty. France has since tried to enslave all the world under quite another plea,

namely, that of dissolving the commercial yoke, which she pretends is imposed by England. Earl Grey still looks coldly on our efforts, which, as well as his reformation-endeavours, looks very like obstinacy; we cannot call this firmness, unless we could suppose that the despotism of Buonaparte, and the licentiousness of the first revolutionists appeared equally excellent; and unless we conceived him to be incapable of making common observations on what passes.

Voltaire, in his admirable story of Candid, or the Optimist, ridiculed obstinacy still more completely than he did the absurd theory of Leibnitz, but he did not succeed so well in reforming obstinate men as he did in exploding the Optimist's theory; and the reason is plain—Men do not think themselves obstinate even when they are so; on the contrary, if there is any one point in which our obstinacy is usually carried to the greatest pitch, it is in maintaining that we are not obstinate; and on this subject there are many curious observations to be made.

Even sceptics, who doubt of every thing else, are very obstinate in thinking that they are not obstinate.

David Hume, who doubted of every thing, inso-

much that he said, that even when he doubted, he was in doubt whether he doubted or not, yet he never once doubted that Dr. Beattie was wrong, and that men who believe in revealed religion are labouring under prejudice. That is to say, that this great philosopher, (and great in many respects he certainly was), had no *doubt* but that he himself was right, though he doubted whether he existed or not, and though the existence of every thing appeared to him to be doubtful.

Earl Grey owes his title, to the perseverance of British ministers, in the system he has uniformly condemned; for if his brave and good father had not fought well, his son would not have been an earl; and if the French had not been resisted, his estate would not now have been in his possession, and perhaps it would not have been worth cultivation; for one of the plans of the French was, if they could not keep England, to render it not worth keeping*; so that his lordship is highly obliged to

* The ferocious general Augereau promised, if he could not keep the island, to spoil it, so that it should not be worth keeping. It is strange that any man of probity and property can think of such a marauding banditti without horror; yet so it has been. Earl

those whom he has so uniformly opposed in their line of politics.

Let it, for the sake of other obstinate men, be observed, that though the opposition gentlemen have been guilty of obstinacy, in following one line of politics, when circumstances changed, their opponents were not guilty of a similar error, for with them the aim never changed; they only wanted to keep the English constitution as it is, till a better is discovered, and therefore, in resisting the mad jacobins, or the despotic military chief, or the wild reformers of parliament, they were perfectly consistent; and there was no obstinacy, but a patriotic firmness, that, under the will of Providence, has preserved the country.

Grey is certainly a man of property, and we have always believed him to be a man of good principles. Such is the inconsistency of men who are led away by party.

EARL GROSVENOR.

A NOBLEMAN of immense wealth, and with very few family incumbrances. His chief pride was, when a young politician, to show his learning by speaking Greek, without recollecting, that none of the country gentlemen, and very few of the other members, (who ought, in contradistinction, to be called the *city gentry*), understood that elegant dead language*. His lordship, in the language of

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* The absurdity of dedicating the best part of the youthful years to the study of dead languages, is now pretty well over, and it is indeed full time that it were so, for the same reasons do not now exist that did very forcibly prevail, when the knowledge of the dead languages constituted the greatest part of living learning.

During the dark ages that succeeded the fall of the Roman empire, and that continued for above a thousand years, the only vestiges of learning were preserved in religious houses, and all books that were worth reading, were in Greek or Latin; and even of the few writers of those times, the most part wrote in those languages; but that practice is now laid aside, and it is found to be better to study science in our own language, than to neglect science, to study the dead languages exclusively.

the courts of justice, took nothing for his motion: he raised a laugh, much to the disgrace of his illiterate hearers, and to his own confusion.

His lordship left off that practice, and has never since spoken much, but now and then has favoured the house of peers with a lofty set speech, as it is technically called. A set speech seldom produces

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In order to enforce, as much as possible, however, the study of the dead languages, it is asserted by teachers, that there is no possibility of understanding modern languages well, unless we understand Greek and Latin. Did it never occur to those who make that assertion, or to their hearers, that the Greeks, who spoke with great elegance and correctness, knew no language but their own, very few understanding the Egyptian? Or do they not also know, that Latin was spoken with great purity at Rome, before the Roman youth studied Greek?

There is nevertheless no doubt a great advantage in understanding Latin and Greek; but, like every thing else, its value may be overrated, and it certainly has been so.

If, however, the practice is to continue, it is a pity that some better and readier method is not taken than has hitherto been adopted; for seven years are generally employed to enable a young man to understand, very imperfectly, a language which he seldom reads after he ceases his studies. Amongst twenty who learn Latin, (as it is called learning), not one can write it, and not one in two hundred can speak it at all.

much effect; for speeches are very unlike diamonds, and other precious stones, which owe half their beauty to their setting, whereas a speech owes half its beauty to the readiness, and unprepared state in which it meets the public.

Lord Grosvenor has caused to be built one of the finest, largest, and most expensively decorated palaces in England, and those who wish to know more of it may read Mr. Pope's account of Timon's villa; and from that let them turn over the leaves till they find the same writer's description of the man of Ross. The revenues of Lord G. in two days are equal to those of that simple plain man, for a year. In reading the description of Timon, and of that simple man, a lesson might be learned on the use and abuse of wealth, that would give more true pleasure to the man that followed it, than all the Greek, all the gilded ceilings, and all the painted windows in the kingdom.

Amongst the eccentricities of the English character, it is surprising that there are not some men who seek fame by patronising merit. We have men who drive four in hand, at the risk of their lives, others walk themselves into celebrity, and many are indebted to their taylors and boot-makers for notoriety. Some patronize boxers and bruisers, and can

talk in the true stile of coachmen and stable helpers, but we do not hear of any who seek notoriety by such means as Mr. Coram, (the founder of the Foundling Hospital), or the modest man of Ross. All this is for want of true taste, and a solid judgment. Nothing, in fact, is more tiresome than a gilded palace; no objects so pleasing as human faces beaming with contentment and gratitude; and a thinking man can never see the splendid abodes of misery, which the unthinking admire, without reflecting on the words of the wisest of men—

"I made me great works—I builded me houses —I planted me vineyards: then I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought, and on the labour that I had laboured to do, and behold all was vanity and vexation of spirit; and there was no profit under the sun."

GUSTAVUS IV.

EX-KING OF SWEDEN.

This prince is one of those unfortunate men who was ruined by following what is right without discretion, when it would have been wise to submit.

Sweden, a third-rate kingdom, both from its extent, riches, and geographical situation, has frequently played a first-rate part on the political theatre; and never was there a braver race of monarchs; but there is a time for all things; and this brave descendant of Gustavus Vasa was not attentive to that truth, and fell a victim.

Of all the old sovereigns of the continent who resisted Buonaparte with inadequate means, he was the bravest and the last, and he consequently fell. The French having no means of invading Sweden, applied the favourite means of bribery, and the noble youth was precipitated from the throne of his forefathers, in a manner equally cruel and unexpected.

The French, who for twenty years triumphed

over the different powers of Europe, went to work in the most systematical manner possible, and the mode was not less remarkable for its policy and cunning, than it was for its being systematical. When they went to war, they, by means of persuasion, and the power of the press, first gained over by flattery and false hopes all that they could delude, thereby lessening the number of their enemies, and dividing them: they next bribed and purchased with gold all that could be purchased. After they had thus reduced the number and strength of their enemies, and obtained secret partizans both in the cabinet and the field, they fought the remainder.

Sweden had always been in alliance with France. The son of the murdered Gustavus of Sweden would not aid those who had usurped the throne of the murdered Louis of France; and the Swedish people were too loyal and too true to be bought over to rebel; but a small party of traitors, at the instigation of the ruler of France, rose and dethroned one of the bravest young men that ever wore a crown.

His unconquerable attachment to the cause of legitimate sovereigns, and his bold resistance of a cruel tyrant, who aimed at banishing liberty from the earth, deserved a better fate, and deserves a kind remembrance on the part of those allied sovereigns

who have at last succeeded after many failures, and much loss. It should be remembered that the generous efforts made by this young monarch were at a time when the frown of the French tyrant appalled all the monarchs on the continent.

That Gustavus did not succeed was not his fault. By yielding, like others, he might have preserved his throne; and to him we may apply the lines of the poet—

> Who noble ends by noble deeds attains,
> Or, failing, smiles in exile, or in chains,
> Like good Aurelius let him reign; or bleed
> Like Socrates; that man is *great indeed.*"

Nothing may be more contrary to the common practice of the world, than to resist the general torrent of opinion; to refuse to worship the idol of the day; or to abstain from shooting an arrow at the stricken deer: but miserable is the mind of that man who will meanly, or for interest, join in a general cry against his own conviction; and ignorant and unthinking must he be, if he joins without thinking on the subject, or mechanically follows the crowd.

The dynasty of Sweden, one of the most honourable in Europe, was changed during the triumph of

power and injustice; and although it is sometimes necessary to let injustice triumph, yet its effects should as far as possible be repaired.

The French revolution has, altogether, caused immense losses to other nations*; losses which there is no possible means of repairing: therefore, however great the injustice, the matter must so remain. In like manner, the legitimate king of Sweden having been dethroned in the hour of the insolent domination of France, and of the abject servility of the continent; and being replaced by a prince who has merited the throne by his honourable and able assistance in the liberation of Europe, the injustice cannot be repaired in a direct manner, without doing another injustice, which would be still worse; for the reason that the former injustice proceeded from the same source with the miseries of

* If we estimate the losses in money, they cannot be less than three thousand millions sterling, and in men about three millions. France itself has lost more than three millions of men, and two thousand millions of money. Such is the consequence of a system of robbery and plunder organized on a grand scale. It is not even finished yet, and more blood and treasure may yet be called for, but France never can pay for the mischief done.

the rest of Europe, whereas, were the Crown Prince of Sweden to be treated with injustice, the honour of the united sovereigns whose cause he has assisted, would be tarnished. It seems, however, to be a duty on them to find out some indemnity for the brave king Gustavus, and not let him wander about on the face of the earth, without a resting-place.

The mind of Gustavus appears to have changed from courage and bravery, to a haughty resignation of rank, and disgust of mankind. He did not, while on the throne, purchase tranquillity and ease by mean submission, and by the sacrifices of his people, like some sovereigns who have preserved their crowns; nor did he, after losing his kingdom, condescend to accept the bounty of England, in order to enjoy luxurious and careless ease, but on the throne, and off the throne, he nobly sought that independence that suits a descendant of Gustavus Vasa.

Had this young king been endowed with the wisdom and reflection that years and observation produce, he might have seen that it was his best way to bend when he could not resist, for that it was but a temporary sacrifice.

On this subject a writer we have already quoted seems to have foreseen what has happened*.

" But it is not on our conduct alone, that the study of the perspective of the human mind may have an influence, it may give us comfort and equanimity. On looking upon European politics on the great scale, we may draw much consolation and much advantage from the study of mental perspective. The apprehension that the whole of the continent of Europe will remain under the power of any one man, or of any one nation, can only arise from the exaggeration occasioned by the recency of the event, which gives an appearance of permanence and solidity to what is only a temporary and a very unnatural state of things. To suppose that all at once the ancient boundaries of nations can be thrown down, and differences of language, manners, and characters cease to operate, would be going a great way, even were it proved, that in abandoning these ancient ways of acting, men followed some new propensity, or some new interest; but the contrary is the case. Never before were men under such coersion. For liberty on a rational principle was their aim, and though they sought it too

* The Perspective of the Human Mind, printed in May 1810.

eagerly, and failed in their purpose, they still have the desire to obtain it; and that desire is most undoubtedly accompanied with a hope that time will produce an opportunity of repairing their error: there is no doubt that the intention is general and firm, of embracing that opportunity when it offers. Men have not changed their nature, though their situation is changed for a time; and it is only the exaggeration occasioned by what is recent and extraordinary, that gives so serious an aspect to the face of human affairs. The time will come, and is probably not very distant, when the terror, the panic, and the dismay occasioned by the recent changes in Europe, and which have been in part the cause of them, will cease to operate."

This writer, by taking a view of things, and setting aside the impressions of the moment, and those feelings under which most people laboured, saw that the storm was evanescent. Had the king of Sweden seen the same, he would have yielded, and he would have still been on his throne; and though he committed an error in being too determined in a good cause, we cannot but admire his conduct, and the mode of thinking that led to it.

If there is any case in which a man is to be excused for not listening to what time-serving pru-

dence dictates, it is where his honour is concerned. Honour is not like a city or a province, to be given up with a hope of re-conquering it in more prosperous times, and therefore what is termed romantic bravery, though often imprudent, has always excited admiration.

The king of Sweden quitted Pomerania after great sacrifices and useless efforts, but he only yielded to superior force; in that there was misfortune, but there was no meanness: but he never would recognise the right of the robber who had dismembered his kingdom. This was unfortunate, but we must admit that it was great: and it will be highly to the honour of the allied sovereigns, if in settling the peace of injured nations, they bestow a thought upon, and make an effort to repair the loss of one of the bravest and most injured of sovereigns.

EARL OF HARDWICKE.

A NOBLEMAN of an independent mind, and one who gave great satisfaction when lord lieutenant of Ireland.

His lordship has of late embraced no active part in politics, and the turn that things have lately taken is such, that those who have been standing aloof are not very likely to intermeddle; and it is probable, that if the present affairs terminate happily, as there is every reason for hoping and expecting, then the same persons who now rule will long continue to do so; and if that is the case, the talents of Lord Hardwicke may never again be put to the test.

LORD HARROWBY.

In this country we are in the habit of estimating business-talents by a very false criterion; unless a man can make long speeches in parliament, we think that he is not a man of political abilities.—This perhaps arises from the circumstance, that able speakers force their way to places of importance; and there have been many instances of great business-talents being found in the same persons, who shone as orators: but nothing is a greater mistake than to think that because they often are found in the same person, they must always be so; or that we are to conclude that a man is a man of slender talents because he is no orator, or that he does not often make speeches*.

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* Not to go far back in the history of our country, we shall find proofs that—

Who reasons wisely is not therefore wise,
His pride in reasoning, not in acting, lies.

Mr. Fox was certainly a great orator, but he was below mediocrity as a minister or man of business; and Mr. Burke the same:

This is a great error, though it is excusable enough, as people seldom see great places occupied by men who do not shine in the senate; yet a little consideration would correct the error, and the present is the best moment for doing it. Never perhaps in the history of the country was there a greater display of good sense in appreciating the situation of the world, or better and more active measures pursued; and never was there a less display of eloquence in either house of parliament.

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the latter had a very profound mind, and eloquence of no common cast, but had no talents for executive business. Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, was by no means an orator, though he could make a very fair good speech on most subjects; but he was one of the first men for efficient political talents that this country ever produced. Mr. Pitt, as well as his father, united the two talents in an uncommon degree; and Sir Robert Walpole did so too: but the first Lord Holland was a very able man, though not equal as an orator.

It would indeed be to betray great ignorance of men, were we to suppose that the two talents of oratory and business must be united, or that the one cannot go without the other, though they certainly are connected, in a country where to speak well is one of the acquirements of the statesman, as on that depends his means of operating on the house; but the operating on the house, and conducting matters of state, have only the same connexion that loading a fowling-piece has with firing it and killing the game.

This is in general a solid thinking nation, it is not easily led away, and plain sense is more attended to than sophistry and metaphysics, yet we admire most the men that make a great figure in speaking in parliament, althongh in common life we rather trust a man of few words than one who has a great deal to say on every subject; and experience tells us, that the man of solid judgment is seldom a great speaker. In truth the criterion to which we appeal for men in whom we are to put our trust, is a mistaken one, not only because the two sorts of abilities do not always go together, but because the man of brilliant talents as an orator, is liable to depend on those for success, and to neglect the cultivation of his business-abilities, as women of great beauty are often at least pains in accomplishing themselves.

Lord Harrowby is one of those men of talents who has not shone, or been at much pains to shine in the senate; and indeed it were much to be wished, that the business of the nation could be carried on with less parliamentary oration. During the whole of the American war, a very simple question was tortured, and presented in so many different shapes, that the national energies were paralized and destroyed, and the struggle was much more disastrous than it otherwise probably would

have been. The opposition constantly recurred to the original state of the question, and opposed the efforts of government, as if the question of war being once decided, and hostilities commenced, that were any longer a consideration. It was a matter to be seriously examined before hostilities commenced, but to oppose the efforts afterwards was in fact treason, although the nature of the British government admitted of it. We were loaded with debt and taxes, and our arms disgraced, but we were amused with speeches! The harangues of Charles Fox, and of a few more of his friends, were all that we had for it, and to reward him he was gratified with official situation. He had powerfully aided to make our efforts fail, and consequently being found a true prophet, he was considered as a great man. The pleasantest part of this sad and sorry business was, that Charles and the minister shook hands, divided all places of power and profit between themselves, thereby insulting a nation they had so greatly abused*.

* Lord North was the least guilty of the two. In conducting the war as well as he could, he was doing his duty, but then to coalesce with the man who had frustrated all his efforts, and brought him to disgrace, was shameful and unprincipled. The friends of

The people saw into the deception, but fine words, promises, and long speeches from Mr. Fox, (who assumed to himself the title of the man of the people), made them forgive, if they could not forget, that very unprincipled act, till at the end of twenty years Mr. Fox got into office again, when he acted something like the king of Israel, who said, "My father ruled you with a rod of iron, but I shall rule you with a rod of scorpions." He doubled the most obnoxious of all the taxes at his first outset. He made an opponent (Lord Grenville) with whom he had long been at variance, and with whom he coalesced, first lord of the treasury, although he was comptroller for life of the expenditure*. This was

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both parties were indeed ashamed of the transaction, which they never seriously attempted to defend.

Mr. Wilkes, an orator rather of another sort, but a great maker of promises, though the most flagitious character of the age, was for a time extremely popular. When he got well rewarded by a good place, he however gave over his harangues, laughed at the people, and quietly indulged his private vices, the remainder of a long life. His villany was detected, but it was too late, he had got what he wanted first.

* It is said, that when Mr. Fox went down to the house as minister, in 1806, the following words were found chalked on the body of his carriage, as it stood in Palace-yard—

"Great talkers do the least d'ye see."

either destroying the comptrol, or rendering the office a sinecure. In short, all his acts during his short administration, tended to shew that the opposition eloquence is not any proof of a greater love for the people than ministers have, though it so happens, that the opposition always get credit for those speeches, though on every opportunity for action they shew those who listened to them how far they have been mistaken.

When opposition was in great power towards the close of the American war, the ministers had scarcely time to manage the house of commons, and contrive speeches, so that blunder on blunder was the immediate effect, and failure the ultimate consequence. All our enemies fought and held their tongues: we kept talking, and forgot, under the charm of patriotic speeches, that we were ruining the cause. Mark Antony did not display greater folly when he listened to the queen of Egypt, but he had a far better excuse.

For the good of this nation it is to be hoped that oratory will cease to be considered the essential and chief qualification of a statesman*. Let us debate

* It is since there was a regular opposition that the national debt has been contracted, and that the revenue has risen from three mil-

about our internal affairs, and preserve our liberty entire to our last breath, but the best orators in time of war, are those laconic, out of door orators, the Park and Tower guns*, which announce such triumphs as the battle of Leipsic, or the liberty of the low countries.

Lord Harrowby is an able minister, but does not trouble us much with his speeches.

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millions to sixty-four millions. Since the reports in parliament were printed full, with the names of the speakers, (about fifty years), our expenditure has far exceeded what it was previously.

* What the French called *un orateur en plein vent*, at the beginning of the revolution.

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COLONEL HERRIES.

THE gentleman who first turned the attention of the London merchants to military affairs, by forming a corps called the City Light Horse Volunteers. There probably is not in the world a corps of men of equal wealth and property. There is no distinction between the private man and the officer, except when on duty, and every one is equipped at his own expense, and in the very best manner.

The formation of this corps, composed all of men of fortune, set a good example, and it was followed with zeal and alacrity. As London followed that example, so the rest of the country followed London; and it may fairly be said, that the formation of this corps gave the military turn to the nation which has rendered it so secure at home, and so much respected abroad.

England was termed by the French in the hour of their insolence, a nation of shop-keepers, but it shewed all the world that it was a nation that would keep its shops in defiance of all invaders.

We have seen the national guards of Paris, who

paraded so proudly after the fall of the Bastile, and who thought that all the world trembled before them, men who kept guard while the monarch was murdered on a scaffold, but who lowered their bayonets before the rabble of the Faux Bourg of St. Antoine; but we saw them animated with a very different spirit from the London volunteers.

In France they armed in order to support rebellion, but in London to support government and the law, and to keep down rebellion. Our conduct has been totally different, and the consequences have been so likewise. The French have been sunk in misery, whilst we have risen higher than at any former period; and much is owing to the display of national spirit in individuals, which gave confidence not only to the citizens but to the regular military. All saw that the commercial men were ready and able to defend their king and their country, and they knew that therefore the king and country would be defended.

In a commercial nation it was a very important point to know the disposition of the leading commercial men. Colonel Herries had the merit of putting this to the proof, and great praise is due to

him for taking the lead in so important a business, and acquitting himself so well*.

At one time the volunteers were of great importance, but now the danger is over; we must not, however, forget the confidence they inspired, at a time when this nation participated *mentally* in the degradation of Europe; when Mr. Pitt and Mr. John Rennie the engineer, blocked up the river Lee to keep the French from passing over from Essex to take London; and when Colonel Crawford, Mr. Windham's friend, entered into a regular description of the best way of fortifying the metropolis†!

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* The family of Colonel Herries is distinguished for its ability: Sir Robert Herries, his elder brother was the first banker who contrived circular letters of credit, payable all over Europe: the plan is admirable, and very ingenious: those who travelled before the revolution can bear witness to its utility. The son of Colonel Herries, a very young man, was private secretary to Mr. Perceval; he enjoyed his confidence, and is now commissary-general; a place in which he gives great satisfaction to those with whom he transacts business.

† How such a ridiculous idea could enter into the minds of able men is difficult to conceive, and its having done so is a proof of the weakness of the human mind, whenever it permits itself to be assailed by panic. In a moment of cool reflection there is not a man who

The volunteers were for a time a most important body of men, and they deserve great praise, though Mr. Windham and his friend Mr. Cobbett were at great pains to discredit them, and did actually destroy, in a great degree, that spirit by which they were originally actuated.

Abuse from Mr. Cobbett was easily to be borne, but sarcasm from Mr. Windham did not sit so easy, and it was in every way from him unpardonable*.

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knows any thing of military affairs, who would have thought of it an instant. Even the unfortunate and weak Harold knew better; and when William invaded England, he went boldly to meet him. Were we to wait for the enemy, and fight in or around the capital? Or was our beaten army to retreat to London as to a citadel? One or other must have been the idea, and both are equally absurd.

* How Mr. Windham, a scholar and a gentleman, could be led to join in the low ribaldry of Cobbett, is astonishing; and how he could find any cause of wonder in volunteers being in many respects inferior to troops of the line, is not less wonderful: it would have been a real cause of wonder if they had not been inferior. Mr. Windham suffered afterwards as he deserved for being the coadjutor of such a man. He gave publicity in parliament to the coarse sarcasms of Mr. Cobbett, to whom he wished to vote a statue of gold; but this idolatry had not its effect long, for the idol turned against his worshipper, and gave publicity to his weakness and vanity. It is curious to

Mr. Windham had been a whig, and followed Mr. Burke when the whig club divided in the beginning of the revolution; after that, he became a most active and zealous aristocrate, almost as much so as Lord Grenville, and far more violent than Mr. Pitt; but unfortunately, after the death of Burke he thought of becoming the same sort of orator that he had been. Mr. Burke was eccentric, and with very refined wit, reasoned most profoundly: Mr. Windham had a sort of buffoonery which, with a knowledge of mathematics and metaphysics, and a perfect acquaintance with the classics, procured him attention; but he was as inferior to Burke as it is well possible to conceive.

The volunteers were the less deserving of abuse from a whig, because, where there is a large standing

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observe how frequently democratic friends quarrell. Paull and Burdett, and Horne Tooke, &c. These gentlemen have so many shades and gradations, that they cannot long remain united. They are like the Brisotins, Dantonists, and Robespierians of France; and, had they power, would exterminate each other. They said in France, that the revolution was like Saturn, and devoured its children; but that was not quite correct, for the children destroyed one another, with all the patriotism and zeal imaginable.

army, they are a counterpoise to it, as we witnessed in France, for the first thing that was done to destroy liberty, was to attack the volunteers. An armed population cannot be enslaved, and that Mr. Windham ought to have known, and probably did know, but he gave such a loose, in his latter days, to his jesting disposition, that nothing seemed to be considered by him as serious, and to create a laugh appeared to be his highest ambition.

The volunteers, in the absence of regular troops, who are gone to aid in the cause of rescuing Europe, are now found to be of great utility, and Colonel Herries and his regiment have offered their services to mount guard, and supply the place of those who are gone abroad.

MARQUIS OF HERTFORD.

This nobleman, who was bred under the care of an excellent father, who was a scholar as well as a statesman, and was in fact one of the first gentlemen of his age, had also the advantage of having for his tutor one of the most celebrated of philosophers and historians*.

The marquis, besides his various virtues, possesses a highly cultivated mind, both as a classical scholar and a philosopher, and not unmindful or unworthy of being of one of the most illustrious of the British nobility, by descent; he supports his rank with dignity; and in the expenditure of an ample fortune, displays good sense, good taste, and benevolence.

His lordship was master of the horse, and, owing

* Mr. Hume, a name that yields to none of his own time, and second only to a few in any age. He was the friend of the father of the marquis, who made him his private secretary when he was lord lieutenant of Ireland.

to some part of his conduct, supposed indeed to be his steady adherence to his Majesty, and attachment to his person, he was dismissed when the opposition ministry came into power, after the demise of Mr. Pitt*.

When the Prince of Wales became Regent, he chose his father's friend and his own to be lord chamberlain; and on that very point hinged the safety of the world. Strange as it is to tell, it is nevertheless true.

The prince, in assuming the reins of government, with great wisdom, and devotion to the good of the country, continued in place, as ministers, all those whom he found at the head of affairs. To have displaced the Perceval ministry, as it was called, and taken in his own early friends, would have been to bring about an *entire* change of measures. It would have been to undo all that it had cost so much blood and treasure to do; and in one word

* All the talents, as they have been called, resembled much one of those great sea captains who fix a broom to the mast head, metaphorically to sweep the seas. They excluded every one from office who was not of their own party, and as none of the king's friends were of that description, the Marquis of Hertford was obliged to resign.

insulate Britain in politics as she is by geographical position, from the continent of Europe*. The short administration of Lords Grey and Grenville, during 1806, showed what would be the line of politics they would adopt; but the prince wisely and fortunately made his private views subservient to his public duty, and his father's ministers were retained in office.

All this went on well, till Mr. Perceval, the first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer, was assassinated, when it was supposed that it would be necessary either to form a new administration, or at least to strengthen that which existed; and for this purpose the Marquis Wellesley was empowered by the prince to form a new administration. This attempt failed, but how, it is not necessary here to relate†.

* It was this baneful line of policy that estranged England from the affairs of Europe during the fatal campaign of Buonaparte, in which Prussia was overthrown, and Russia compelled to sign the treaty of Tilsit; from which arose the subjugation of Italy, the attack on Spain and Portugal, the incorporation of Holland and Switzerland with the French empire. What glorious fruits those talents did in one short year produce!

† The alarm given by the sudden and sad assassination of Mr. Perceval was so great, that the parliament thought the nation on

Lord Moira was next empowered to form an administration, and Lords Grey and Grenville were applied to. His Royal Highness, with an honourable anxiety to have a strong efficient administration, allowed Lord Moira to put aside every personal consideration.

Fortunately however, Lords Grey and Grenville

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the brink of ruin, and that all parties must join to save it; and it was not till after the attempt failed, that it was discovered that things went on full as well as they had done previous to the death of Mr. Perceval. Had they attempted to form a motley administration of all parties, it might probably have been like one formed by the great Lord Chatham, which Mr. Burke thus ludicrously describes—"Lord Chatham made an administration so chequered and speckled: he put together a piece of joinery so crossly indented and so whimsically dove tailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic, such a tesselated pavement without cement; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers; king's friends and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies—that it was indeed a very curious show—but utterly unfafe, and unsure to stand on. The colleagues whom he had assorted at the same boards stared at each other, and were obliged to ask—"Sir, your name," &c. It so happened, that persons had a single office divided between them who had never spoken to each other in their lives—until they found themselves, they knew not how, pigging together, heads and points, in the same truckle-bed!"

were more anxious about the portion of power and patronage they were to enjoy, than any other circumstance; and Lord Moira, with the feelings of a man of honour, resisted their insolent, indecorous, and unbecoming demand.

The prince had laid down no basis or preliminary condition but this—That the war in Spain should be prosecuted, and measures taken to settle quietly the Roman Catholic question. His Royal Highness with great disinterestedness gave up every thing personal. As a contrast to this disinterested, dignified, and truly noble conduct, Lords Grey and Grenville began by making a preliminary condition, that they should have the nomination of the three great officers of the prince's household. National interests alone occupied the prince: their own patronage exclusively occupied Lords Grey and Grenville*: and very fortunately the Earl of Moira,

* When once a wrong opinion is taken up in this country, it is almost impossible to overturn or change its operation. On all occasions the prince has acted disinterestedly and with dignity: on all occasions the two noble lords have acted peevishly and interestedly; and they have always contrived to involve in intricacy the differences they have had with those of another way of thinking; yet because they raised an outcry as being early friends abandoned, they have, without deserving it, met with pity. One would really be apt to mistake

unwilling that the prince, who acted so well, should be treated so ill, refused on his own responsibility to accede to this condition, and Grey and Grenville were excluded by their own ambition, for they had set their batteries against the family of Hertford, and, like Haman, they found all honours of no avail, while Mordecai the Jew was seated at the king's gate.

To remove the Marquis of Hertford and his son* from the palace was of more importance to those patriotic lords than all the interests of the nation;

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them for the children in the wood, left orphans by the parents, led to destruction by an unnatural uncle, and imploring robin red-breast to cover them over with leaves.

As these pretty pair of babes happen to be laid on their backs, (it is to be hoped for a long time), they would make a good subject for a caricature; and instead of the red-breasted winged sexton that covered the children, let the Earl of Moira and the pope do them that last earthly office.

* Lord Yarmouth, the marquis's son, was vice chamberlain at that time, and the Talents could not forgive his lordship for having displayed more ability than the Earl of Lauderdale did in the negotiation that took place at Paris in 1806. Vide the portrait of the Earl of Yarmouth.

and they refused lending aid, with their great talents, because they could not bind their master's hands and surround his person with their own friends.

Men who boast of being patriots might well be ashamed of receiving the prince's generous and noble offer with so interested a preliminary.

The prince said, "Let them take the whole of it, (the household), from the highest to the lowest. No sacrifice on my part will cost me a moment's uneasiness, if it enable me to fulfil a public duty; and I have every reason to believe, that those who are personally attached to me will value it as little."

In fact the prince knew well that the Marquis of Hertford and his son had no wish to stand in the way of the public interest; and had it not been for the proper feelings of the Earl of Moira, Lords Grey and Grenville would have once more annoyed the nation with their talents.

So much for a narrative of facts, but now for the consideration of the consequences.

Grey and Grenville had always, since they coalesced, spoken against any steps taken to meddle in continental affairs; and this disposition of theirs

was particularly well known in Russia, against which the ambitious despot of France was just then going to march, with the greatest, and best appointed army that Europe ever saw*. The

* The army is stated at 616,000 men, led by the best of the generals that the French revolution had produced. An army which occupied above three years in preparing, and which was almost totally destroyed.

After the retreat from Russia, it was easy to see that Buonaparte had irretrievably lost his reputation, his armies, and his officers—that the means of coercing mankind was gone, both morally and physically; and that the splendour of victory would no longer cover, as with an embroidered mantle, the iniquity of the man, who, seated on the throne of France, had the ambition to aim at enslaving the world.

Never, certainly, was any thing either so sudden, so uninterrupted, or so complete, as the victorious career of the Russians, during the retreat from Moscow to the flight of Buonaparte, when he left the small exhausted remnants of his once grand plundering army.—Murder and robbery had never before been conducted on a scale either so splendid or so great; and never did robbers and murderers meet with a more severe or signal punishment.

Long have those who admired Buonaparte held him up as an irresistible instrument in the hand of Divine Providence; and, indeed, as Providence uses natural means to accomplish her inscrutable

Emperor Alexander would certainly have repulsed the infamous aggressor as he did, but having driven

purposes, it required nothing less than such an extraordinary man to effect what he has done.

When the revolution had established the jacobin clubs all over France, and those clubs did actually command above a million of soldiers, who were employed to rob and ruin neighbouring nations; Buonaparte had the address and ability to turn the armies against the jacobins, and thus make the origin of the evil to cease.

Here he had accomplished a great work; and at this, if he had stopped, he might have been considered as the best and greatest of men; his dynasty would have merited stability; but no—the army itself then became as dangerous to mankind, as its former masters had been, and no imaginable address could reduce this army, and Buonaparte neither could nor would make the attempt. Here it is that Divine Providence manifests itself.—In the fullness of his ambition and vain glory; promising plunder, wealth, and dominion —he collects his whole force to effect one desperate purpose; and while he and his bands think they are going to immortalize themselves as the heroes and the masters of mankind—while they boast that they march as on a party of pleasure and amusement, they all at once find themselves, in the worst season of the year, in the most miserable country, and amidst the most formidable enemies*. The

* They said, when marching to Moscow, that it was like a voyage of pleasure to Fontainbleau. The pity for the deluded soldiers and the French na-

his hordes of thieves and marauders beyond the frontier, or left them dead upon the fields they had invaded, he would have rested on his arms. He

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world knows how fatal this was; for, of the best appointed and most numerous army in the world, very few escape death, and, of those few, not one escapes infamy. The soldiers perish rather than forsake their officers, and the officers basely forsake their soldiers to save themselves.

Thus armies and all are destroyed, by a means which it was not in the power of man to contrive and execute.—To lead the men to destruction, it was necessary that they should be led as if to victory; all which was thus wonderfully accomplished. Thus Buonaparte has completed, by his infatuation, the work he began by his abilities, and which no human talents could have accomplished.

Buonaparte has done most completely, and with great pains and exertion, what he never intended to do, and what, if he had known, he never would have done. Is not this being a blind instrument in the hands of Providence?

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tion would be deservedly great, had they not abetted every scheme of plunder, and applauded every act of villany, so long as they succeeded. The impious *Te Deum* at Paris, for the battle of Borodino and the ruin of Moscow, was attended with all those symptoms of joy and exultation that arise from heart-felt satisfaction. The citizens passing each other in the street demonstrated their joy as on occasions of some great national advantage or good fortune.

could not either with safety or propriety, have undertaken the liberation of Europe, had not he known that British ministers were treading in the steps of William Pitt, and that they would aid, with all their power, in so good a cause.

Without dwelling long on this subject, we may bless God for bringing us by such mysterious ways to the present happy state of things. Though to the magnanimity and good intentions of the Prince Regent we owe the preservation of the Perceval administration, which followed the true line of politics, yet that same magnanimity, in order to comply with the will of the house of commons*,

* The world has perhaps never produced a monarch equal to the Emperor Alexander for virtue as well as greatness of mind. He unites the bravery of the Macedonian king, with the virtues of Marcus Aurelius; and his mode of acting since he undertook the liberation of Europe, is beyond all praise. Without, however, that Emperor could have reckoned on being seconded with money from this country, what is now magnanimity would have been rashness and folly. Either he would have staid at home, and left Buonaparte master of all he had acquired; or, if he had come into Germany, he would have been obliged to give up the contest for want of means, and Buonaparte would have been more powerful than ever. It has

had very nearly destroyed all by making an offer to Lords Grey and Grenville.

The wrong-headed ambition of those two noblemen has been singularly in unison with the madness of Buonaparte, for the deliverance of Europe; and it is devoutly to be wished, that the fate of Europe may never again depend on such strange coincidence: such an unforeseen, and such an unlooked-for, and unintentional co-operation.

The Marquis of Hertford, and the Marchioness, and the Earl of Yarmouth, all come in for a share of abuse from those who are disappointed; and the world, it is well known, delights in abuse, particularly when levelled at persons near the throne, or who are of high descent, and who do not stoop to

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been a hardly contested matter as it is, and but for Britain it could not have succeeded. The Crown Prince of Sweden, for one, would not have been there. Prussia, quite exhausted, would not have been able to make any great effort, and probably Austria would not have declared herself, but would have continued to preserve neutrality.

In every view of the matter, the prince deserves the gratitude, not only of this nation, but of the whole world.

beg for popularity by making false promises, or assuming false appearances; habits which never were familiar to the family of Hertford, which has for a long period been remarked for those virtues, and that line of conduct that adds splendour to nobility of blood, and antiquity of origin*.

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* The family of Seymour is one of great antiquity and noble alliance; amongst others, the Lady Katherine Grey, second daughter of Frances Duchess of Suffolk, (a queen of France, and daughter of Henry VII. of England) by Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, (afterwards created Duke of Suffolk) was married to Edward Seymour, then Earl of Hertford.

SIR JOHN COX HIPPESLEY.

A GENTLEMAN of great literary attainments, who writes always with moderation and temper, and seems to be constantly guided by the best intentions.

Sir John's interference in behalf of the last of the male line of the unfortunate house of Stuart, did him great credit; and the correspondence that took place between him and the Cardinal de York is not less honourable to him than it is to the British monarch, who, forgetting all ancient rivalships, readily contributed to the comforts of the last of a royal line which had for many centuries been peculiarly unfortunate. There is no example in the history of civilized nations, of any royal family being so unfortunate as the house of Stuart. On the throne of Scotland, the Stuarts were constantly the victims of civil dissentions, and most of them perished by violent and premature deaths, after a turbulent and unhappy reign. The same disastrous fate attended them when on the British throne, from which they were finally expelled in less than

eighty-five years from the union of the crowns, one monarch having, during that short period, perished on a scaffold, and another spent the best of his days in exile in foreign countries.

A new revolution that threatened the destruction of all monarchs, deprived the last of this royal line even of the means of existence, in extreme old age; and it was on this occasion that Sir John Cox Hippesley interfered, and procured, from his Majesty, assistance that was granted with generosity and kindness, and received with gratitude.

Sir John is more known as a man of letters than as a parliamentary debater, though when he speaks he is always much attended to, and his speeches shew a classical and well-informed mind, acting on principles of moderation, and guided by the best intention. Sir John can neither be termed a courtier nor a patriot in the present meaning of those terms. The patriots of the present day flatter the people, affecting to bewail their misfortunes, and the hardships of their situation, endeavouring to excite discontent, and magnifying every cause of complaint; whilst those who are in office pay too little attention to the real causes of complaint*.

* The insolvent debtor's bill has been now two years before the

Sir John is one of those men (not a very numerous class) who is attentive to the truth, which way soever it comes; and so far as he has it in his power, acts for the best; he never turns aside from listening to well-founded complaint, nor does he ever attempt to influence men's minds by exaggerating real, or painting imaginary grievances.

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legislature, and has been most carelessly brought forth; and indeed, has been found so incomplete, that it cannot be executed; when a bill respecting revenue, or the volunteering of the militia, though more complicated, can be carried through, completed, and be acted upon in a few days. Many abuses in respect to monopoly, and the prices of provisions, have been complained of; perhaps those who complained were wrong, but why not make inquiry? It is said, trade finds its level; let commerce alone; and certainly it ought never to be meddled with but when a strong reason is shewn; but it is hard that the principle of freedom of commerce should be adopted on one side of the question, and not on the other. When bread was cheap, about nine years ago, the legislature altered the rate at which corn might begin to be imported, and wheat rose immediately; but when exorbitantly high, it did not interfere.

LORD HOLLAND.

A NOBLEMAN who imbibed the principles of his illustrious relation at an early age, and who, when he arrived at years of maturity, could not be expected to withstand the fascinating eloquence of Charles Fox, heightened by social intercourse, and endeared by near consanguinity with so great a man.

Lord Holland has nevertheless shewn one of the greatest marks of judgment and genius. He has not let the spirit of party lead him into extremes, as might from circumstances have been expected; and, justly proud of having Mr. Fox for his uncle, he has, nevertheless, avoided the errors into which that uncle ran.

Too wise to aim at being the chief of a party, where a sort of hereditary claim would have certainly been of great avail*, he appears to have too

* Mr. Fox gave the name to the party, not as a Bedford or a Buckingham, because they assembled at their princely mansions—not as whigs or tories, a sort of unmeaning nicknames—but the

much genuine love for his country, to be, what is distinctively termed, a modern patriot: he has likewise too much virtue to be called what is termed a modern philosopher; yet he wants neither philosophy nor patriotism, but they are of a better colour, and a better cast than those of the new school. This we conclude from the conduct of his lordship, as actions are the result of opinions.

His lordship's literary talents are considerable, but, as an orator, he labours under a great disadvantage; for the moment he speaks, we think of the unparalleled oratory of Charles Fox, and we involuntarily make comparisons, without reflecting that it is quite unreasonable to expect that the same family should produce such another man. More is expected than it is reasonable to expect; and if we are not much mistaken, the mind of *Lord Holland* is not altogether free from the same comparative feeling that operates on the public; and it is well known that what people do not expect to attain, they very seldom do attain: so true it is that while the offspring of ordinary men often rise to a great height, medio-

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Foxites were so termed from attachment to the person and principles of Charles Fox. Lord Holland might then claim a hereditary right to what was a species of personal property.

crity is the ordinary lot of those whose fathers have been greatly distinguished for talents.

Lord Holland has never shewn any desire for office, though he is much more fit to fill one than most of those who aspire to places of honour, profit, and patronage. His native sagacity, and the examples before him, probably have told him, that, amongst the present men, and with the present measures, he cannot make one: a great change was at one time expected, at which he might make his talents useful to his country, but that is no longer probable.

The great change in contemplation some time ago, which was nothing less than a struggle for existence, will now assume another character; and we must labour to put our finances in order, and preserve to Britain that proud situation which she has attained.

Britain has fought the strong, and supported the feeble; she has stood true to her engagements, and supported the cause of liberty, when it was nearly extinguished; she has preserved the sacred flame in defiance of those mad and mistaken nations who were leagued against her, and she merits the thanks of all mankind.

—— HORNER, ESQ. M.P.

A METEOR for a moment, something like Mr. Brougham; but no sooner did the latter appear than the former did somehow or other disappear.

Perhaps, now that Mr. B. is retired, Mr. H. will come out, like the old man and woman in the hygrometer; or, to speak more classically, like Castor and Pollux, when the one sets, the other will rise: for it would appear that though they both want to smell at one nosegay, they cannot agree, like the two kings of Brentford, both to do it at the same time. This is *right; too much same* wont do for men of taste—*same* thing—*same* time. Now, as these two gentlemen love the same thing, they are right not to seek it at the same time, and particularly, in the same way. The Jew and inquisitor in Candid, (Voltaire's Candid, that admirable satirical romance) were unfortunate enough to have the *same* mistress; but then they were wise enough, like Castor and Pollux, to make proper arrange-

ments; and Brougham and Horner have wisely followed their example.

Mr. Horner has again appeared on the political stage, and shews abilities that, at some future period, may probably make him a useful member of the house of commons.

WILLIAM HUSKISSON, ESQ. M. P.

This gentleman, who has been under-secretary to the treasury, and who was in the capacity of secretary to Lord Gower, when that nobleman was ambassador to France, and when the revolution broke out, had a more than ordinary opportunity of becoming acquainted with matters of finance: and he is one of those who knows the most relative to that subject in this country.

Mr. Huskisson, with great opportunities, and good business-talents, would be an acquisition to any administration; and why he quitted the public service it is only for those to say who are acquainted

with those private intrigues that produce so many evils of which the causes are concealed.

Those intrigues, contemptible as they are in themselves, form the machinery of most governments. They exclude men of talent from employment, and bring the careless and the ignorant into office, in a manner that surprises the lookers on. We stare when we see a man neither of talents nor of exertion, enjoying the sweets of office, and exacting homage and respect from all around, something like one of those worms embalmed in amber, of whom Pope says—

> Not that the things themselves are fine or rare,
> But all the wonder is, how they came there.

Another sort of feeling is excited when we see men of merit, of knowledge, and whose talents have been tried, wasting them, for want of employment, on the barren air, at a time when perhaps they are very much wanted.

Into Mr. Huskisson's reasons for keeping out of office, if he keeps aloof himself, we cannot examine. If he is excluded by the influence of others, we lament that such an influence exists, for his talents are at this time wanted.

Mr. Huskisson may perhaps think that he cannot find a place in a department of which Mr. Vansittart

is at the head; and perhaps in comparing the finance-abilities of the two, we might agree with him: but if it is such a principle of pride that excludes him from office, he is much to be blamed, and the more so that he was in France when a fine kingdom was ruined, and a polished people rendered savage through a wrong idea of subordination; a wrong idea concerning the necessity of higher and lower—first and last. If every man were to judge of his own talents, and to refuse his assistance unless he got the place he thought he deserved, we should seldom see any man of talents forming a part of any administration.

Besides talents, however, there are other things that are indispensable in order to make a man useful to his country; one of those is, to have the service he undertakes so much at heart, as not to let any private considerations of his own, prevent him from performing it.

If a man is ill treated, or finds his efforts baffled by those who have a power or means of thwarting him, he may have a good excuse for retiring from office, where he might be of service; but not to have exactly the place he would choose, or not to have all the coadjutors he would choose, are not good reasons for resigning office. This is plain,

because it is physically impossible that every one can have his will. Wherever the concurrence of a number of persons is wanted, as in the formation of an administration, it must either be done by acquiescing in an arrangement formed by one, or by a few, or it must be done by a general agreement after a general scramble; and each must sit down contented with what he can get, though not with what he meant to have.

Mr. Huskisson, together with abilities, has industry, and would certainly be useful in these times; but he seems to have fallen into the same error with many others, and attached himself to a party when he might have done much better for himself had he exerted his talents, without caring for any one more than another; satisfied if he could serve his country and himself*, without meddling with intriguers,

* Nothing is more absurd than to speak of a man sacrificing himself to the public service, for that is not required in a civil capacity, and those who pretend to do it are only holding out false appearances. On the other hand, a man who devotes himself to a public life, is not to be excused if he makes all negotiations for office hinge upon his own convenience. The refusal of Lords Grey and Grenville, for example, to aid their country, because they could not rule the prince's household, shewed a total want of the true spirit of

who, without half his efficient abilities, are more expert at, and have more means of succeeding by circuitous transactions.

Should the present war unfortunately continue, the finances of this country will be the most difficult of all the public concerns to manage; but it is probable, at least it is to be hoped, that the war is near an end; and if so, those who have withdrawn themselves from the public service will have plenty of time to ruminate on their imprudence, and they will be very properly punished for their selfishness.

Britain has been long engaged in a severe struggle, and it must by all be admitted that she struggled to support a good cause. Those who might not be disposed to approve of her conduct during the first years of the revolution, when France pretended to be fighting for liberty, cannot refuse approving of her conduct in resisting France when she was fighting to establish universal despotism, and to

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patriotism that ought to guide public men—men who pretend to be zealous for the good of their country. Lord Grey, who in the bitterness of woe seems to deplore the impending ills that hang over his country, will not move a step to avert those ills, unless he can, like a froward child, have three sticks to play with.

banish liberty from the face of the earth; and therefore they ought not to have united in hampering those who ruled, and who struggled against very great and very uncommon difficulties.

Amongst other difficulties that arose was the almost total disappearance of metallic money. On this subject Mr. Huskisson wrote an elaborate pamphlet, entitled, "The Question stated." It might perhaps have been better to have tried to resolve the question, for that was the great desideratum; but, not to be captious about the title, let us consider the nature of the pamphlet.

The subject of the price of bullion, compared with the nominal and current value of bank notes, is certainly very important, but it is not a very intricate one, and ought least of all to be a party question.

No one can know better than Mr. Huskisson, the difference between English bank notes and French assignats, and he must know many things of which most other persons are ignorant, and that tend to throw great light on the bullion question.

The following are facts that ought to be considered, and which he must know—

First.—When the French revolution broke out, and property became insecure, gold acquired a

greater value in proportion to silver, than before, because, to conceal with ease, or to carry away, money, became an object. The louis d'or, only worth 23 livres in silver, rose to 26 livres 10 sols, or about 14 *per cent.*

Second.—England persisted, while her bank was open, in paying in gold, while most other countries paid in silver.

These two causes occasioned a demand for guineas in 1793, which created embarrassments, the cause of which not being understood, and therefore no remedy applied, brought about the necessity for stopping issues in specie in 1797.

It was clear, that if England persisted in paying in gold, after gold had risen so much above the usual value, the guineas would disappear; and it was a most wise step to stop payments in specie, though it was a desperate remedy. The natural and proper remedy would have been to have made a large coinage of silver, and only paid in that metal.

As to the demand for gold, the cause of that is explained: now, with regard to the demand for silver—

No notes being under one pound, it became necessary to get change. Whatever is necessary must be done, and those who want it done must

pay for doing it; but that this is not depreciation of the paper is proved from two facts.

First.—In this country, at one time, five *per cent.* was given by the bankers for change, and they gave golden guineas worth twenty-one shillings each, for twenty shillings in silver, which twenty shillings (by the bye) were frequently not intrinsically worth fourteen good shillings. Surely this was not depreciation.

Second.—When the assignats first appeared in France, the specie disappeared, and there was very soon a want of change*; silver bore a premium in consequence, and this was called depreciation; but it was not at first so, for when the small assignats first appeared, (the assignats of five livres), they bore a premium of ten *per cent.* until they were in sufficient quantity, when they fell to *par.* Nobody surely will say, that the small assignats were purchased at a premium for any other reason than conveniency, or the necessity of having change,

* When anxiety began in Paris, persons who received cash at the *Caisse d'Escompt* used to ask for gold. That was always refused; but one of the cashiers in a back room, would for a small premium give gold for silver.

as the large and small were equally good as to their security*.

These two undeniable facts, account for the demand for change, and the consequent premium, without attributing either to depreciation.

At the same time that all this was taking place, distrust, and secretion of property were extending over the nations of Europe; and both gold and silver, but particularly the former, were on demand, a demand, for the purpose of concealment; and therefore metallic money bore a premium for three different causes. First, for change; second, for concealment; and third, from its diminution in quantity, and rarity: for, as the precious metals diminished in their value, in exchange against other articles, in proportion as they increased in quantity, so it was natural that they should rise as they diminished in quantity†.

The English bank note has not depreciated,

* The depreciation of assignats, that afterwards took place, was quite a different thing, and arose from a very different cause; namely, the excessive quantity created, and the increasing probability of their never being liquidated, or convertible into real value.

† For this see Smith's Wealth of Nations.

except against the precious metals, and it is strange that Mr. Huskisson, who, in addition to much general knowledge of finance, must have known what is here said about the premium of the louis d'or over silver, and of the small assignats over the larger, never once mentions either circumstance.

As to the rest, this has unfortunately been made a party question, and not what it is—a scientific question. Had it been so treated, truth would have sooner been discovered, and some allowance would have been made for the alteration that took place in the nature of the bank note.

A note was formerly a promise to pay so much gold or silver; and, when realiseable at will, there could be no premium, further than the trouble of going to the bank to fetch it. When it ceased to be realiseable, the premium must depend on circumstances, as does the sale of every other commodity.

Copper has risen fifty *per cent.* and lead nearly as much, while iron has rather fallen in price within these last thirty years; and before payments in gold ceased, bullion had fallen in price, with respect to most of the great articles of life, and if the proportion is taken at this day, it will be found so with some of them still.

When peace and confidence return, then we shall see gold and silver in free circulation, and not till then; and all the profound reasonings dressed in the stile of mathematical demonstration, will be discovered to have been founded either in error, in a spirit of party, or an affectation of deep research*.

Mr. Huskisson has not done justice to his own abilities, or to the subject, in not adverting at all to those transactions in France, to which he was a witness, in which most of the embarrassments relative to money originated, and on which he certainly is capable of throwing a light. He witnessed a most important scene, and he was not inattentive, yet his demonstrations are more like those of an abstract theorist, than a man who had for several

* When cash-payments are restored in Britain, a new rate of proportion between the ounce of gold, and the ounce of silver, will require to be established, and probably it will be found well to make payments in silver (optionally at least) as on the continent; in which case a new silver coinage in crowns, will be indispensable, or some such pieces, that may be either taken by number or by weight, as in ancient France.

years witnessed what took place in France, and for a considerable period enjoyed a confidential and important situation in the British treasury*.

LORD HUTCHINSON.

HAVING discovered an early partiality for a military life, he was sent to study in a military academy at Strasburgh, considering the French camp as the best school for a young soldier. He easily found means to be introduced to La Fayette, commander of the army on the frontiers, and it was his lot to be with him at the very critical and important epoch when, his patriotism being suspected, he found himself reduced to the cruel necessity of abandoning his troops, and betaking himself to flight.

When the war broke out, the Hutchinson family

* For the real value of the Bank of England note, see the portrait of Mr. Mellish.

particularly distinguished itself by its loyalty and zeal, for Lord Donoughmore raised one regiment, and his brother colonel, (now Lord) Hutchinson, was permitted to recruit and embody another. During the first expedition to Holland, Colonel Hutchinson served with General Abercrombie: it was on this occasion he first obtained the friendship of that gallant commander, by whom he was employed in negotiations, and carrying of flags of truce, and whatever was connected with military diplomacy. He was equally active in the field, and was one of the first to enter the trenches at Valenciennes. In the expedition to Egypt, he was recommended by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, to government, as an officer worthy of their confidence, and was appointed second in command, and upon the death of that gallant officer, at Alexandria, the command fell upon General Hutchinson, who distinguished himself by his eminent services.

In 1806 his lordship was despatched on a confidential mission to Russia; and the opinions he gave, were justified by events.

THE DUKE DEL INFANTADO.

One of those truly patriotic Spanish noblemen, who, though bred in France, resisted all the temptations held out to him by the cunning and ambitious ruler of France, when he deluded away the family of Spain, and usurped a sway over that country*.

It was owing to the patriotism of a few noblemen like the duke, and the native loyalty and bravery of

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* That there is nothing new under the sun is generally acknowledged, yet the admirers of Buonaparte think him a novelty—that no man was ever like him, or achieved such wonders. In his portrait we shewed that mistake, and drew a comparison between him and Nadir Shah, a Persian chief, in many cases rather in favour of that demi-savage. As to enterprise, there is a great similarity between the usurpation of Scotland by Edward I. and Buonaparte's invasion of Spain. Under pretence of settling the succession to the throne of Scotland, Edward got the two chief competitors, Bruce and Baliol, with most of the Scottish nobility, to Norham castle, on the borders between the two kingdoms: he at the same time got most of the fortresses in the south of Scotland into his possession; and, for about seventy-three years, Scotland was kept under by force, till at last she threw off the yoke.

Spain, assisted by British forces, that the French tyrant first found the fragility of his great unwieldy mass of an empire.

The duke was heir to an immense fortune, and at the time that he embraced the cause of his country, risked it all. But his patriotism will be rewarded: he will have his fortune restored; and his honour is preserved; or, rather, it has gained a new lustre, by the trial which he underwent, from which he came off victorious.

Spain will now again be a great kingdom; and the people brave warriors, as in former times: and never again, it is to be hoped, will she allow herself to be subject to the power of France.

SIR HUGH INGLIS.

This gentleman, who has long been one of the most active of the directors of the East India company, is possessed of a degree of commercial knowledge that is very far beyond what is common.

In his letters as chairman last spring, when the renewal of the charter was in agitation, he conducted the negotiation with government with uncommon ability and moderation, and his endeavours to preserve that great establishment, were crowned with all the success possible, and more than was expected.

It was a contest of power against men who well understood the interests of the establishment; and as both parties meant for the best, the powerful listened to the well-informed.

The time is probably fast approaching, when the affairs of India will be discussed in a different manner, and between persons of very different interests. Europe is about to be settled, and ministers would do well to consider what is to be

conceded to other nations, and what is to be preserved.

England in fact gains no revenue from her possessions in India. What she gains is by trade, but she has become the envy of other nations, on account of her possessions there; and she must prepare herself for some arrangements that will give safety to herself, and satisfaction to other nations.

The history of the world shews that nothing is permanent that is not consonant to the views of mankind, and that moderation is the only thing that enables any one nation to preserve, for a long period, a possession that excites envy amongst others*.

* It is strange enough, that though Spain preserved a very strict and close monopoly of the trade to South America, it excited no envy; but England, though extremely liberal to foreigners trading to her possessions in the east, excited very great envy. There could be no good reason for this; but, as it was so, there must have been some cause; and it possibly enough might be this—The Spaniards managed so badly, that they were rather injured by their foreign possessions; whereas the great prosperity, and splendid establishments of England excited envy. It was the result of the business, and not its right, that occasioned the feeling of envy towards one country, and not towards the other; and envy is generally amongst

The commerce with India has, from the earliest ages, been a bone of contention for the civilized nations. For that, Solomon built the superb city of Palmyra, (Tadmor in the wilderness), whose ruins astonish the traveller to this day: for that, Alexander destroyed Tyre, the queen of the commercial nations of antiquity: for that, he invaded India, and founded Alexandria. For the same commerce did Venice, Genoa, and Constantinople, contend during the dark ages*: and for the same, have the Dutch, Portuguese, English, and French, contended in modern times. Are we to expect that in this new era, mankind are to abandon their propensities, and change their mode of action? Certainly not: and in the new arrangements that are probably soon to take place, nothing will be so difficult as to make a solid and satisfactory arrangement with regard to India.

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nations, sooner or later, productive of hostility. A tract is now preparing on this important subject, that may perhaps tend to facilitate an adjustment.

* See for particulars, Disquisition on Ancient India, by William Robertson, D. D.

LORD KING.

His lordship, who is a man of very considerable abilities, made himself very remarkable for exerting them in a very strange way. When metallic money could not be procured for the purposes of exchange, and the government was, through necessity, obliged to make bank notes pass, his lordship, not considering the embarrassments of a nation that stood up alone in defence of the liberties of mankind, exerted himself in a way that tended greatly to increase those embarrassments. He insisted on his tenantry paying him their rents in gold, when he knew that it could not be done*, and when he paid his butcher

* The tenantry of one single landholder might certainly have found the means, with great loss, inconveniency, and delay, of paying their rents in gold, but the impossibility here mentioned applies to it as a general practice. All the tenantry in the country could not have done it. There was a physical impossibility, when they were obliged to sell produce for paper, and there was not gold to be found in exchange for that paper.

and baker in the same sort of paper money that he refused to take.

Those who know that Lord King is a man of abilities, and a man of honour; and one who, besides, has a great stake in the country, could easily see that this was only an indirect way of procuring a law to make that legal which was become necessary, and to prevent selfish proprietors of land from actually enforcing payments in money.

His lordship's conduct had the desired effect, and Earl Stanhope, with his usual ability, and known love for his country, brought in a bill that in a great measure remedied the defects of prior regulation.

The government of the country, very prudently, knowing the tenderness of public credit, and the readiness of certain persons to throw an odium on their measures, had avoided making bank notes a legal tender. The consequences of this circuitous mode of proceeding was, that bank notes (the solidity of which is easily demonstrated*) served every

* Every bank note that is sent out has a pledge deposited for its reimbursement, and that pledge is a real value, not indeed deposited in substance, but by obligations of solvent persons, by which their property becomes tangible. See the article Mellish.

purpose, when the buyer and seller knew the payment was to be in paper. But for a past transaction, for the acquittal of an obligation taken when gold was current, they could only serve by permission of the receiver, who alone had the right to wave the literal fulfilment of the obligation. It was on this principle that Lord King paid in paper, and insisted on being paid in gold. He looked like Shylock the Jew. His lordship would have the bond. But he was a British peer, and did not, really, it is believed, mean any such thing; on the contrary, he must have meant to bring about the alteration that actually took place.

Government did not even then, in direct terms make bank notes a legal tender, but it did what in fact was nearly the same thing. A law was made that rendered it a matter of wisdom, if not of necessity, to take the bank notes; a law that prevented landlords from harassing their tenants by demands that could not be complied with.

England has astonished the world by the manner in which its credit has been kept up amidst bankruptcy abroad, and outcry at home. For this we certainly are indebted to the general good sense of the nation, and the cautious policy of ministers, who were contented to grope their way, sticking fast by

what was most safe, even at the risk of being laughed at by the great writers on political economy; and the admirers of those gigantic theories that may sometimes be very well in principle, but are very dangerous in practice.

The nation is much obliged to Lord King, who, having done a great service, deserves thanks for that, and credit for good intention, though he appeared to have taken an awkward and uncouth manner of attaining his purpose.

MARQUIS OF LANSDOWN.

At an early age this nobleman was for a time chancellor of the exchequer, and it was indeed a very singular chancellorship. In the beginning of the administration in which Mr. Fox, Lords Grey, Grenville, &c. ruled, the first financial operation was, to throw discredit on the resources of the country, which was represented on the eve of bankruptcy, and of failing in resources to carry on the war.

It was under this impression that peace was

solicited at Paris, probably under the idea that Buonaparte would grant us, out of pity, that relief we so urgently wanted. Or it might perhaps be intended to convince that great man, who had vowed to ruin this nation, that it was actually done, and that therefore there was no occasion to push the matter any further.

Whether pity was expected, or credulity trusted to, for procuring us peace, Buonaparte, acting in his proper character, refused to treat, and in the interim the income tax was doubled in its amount, and greatly augmented by the rigour of its collection*. People were astonished, and complained that the party who had always exclaimed against the income tax should act in such a manner: but it was to no purpose; the party were as inexorable to the people as Buonaparte was to their ambassador. The taxes for the year were laid on in a most urgent, strict, and severe manner, suitable to the proclaimed exigency; and after that was done, after the nego-

* It was thought a singular mode of obtaining peace to proclaim our inability to carry on the war; but nevertheless the fact was so. Even the most ignorant of the people laughed at the whole as a farce, and a piece or folly, and began to curse Fox, and wish they could have Pitt back again from his habitation of cold clay.

tiation had failed, when Mr. Fox was dead, and the treaty of Tilsit signed, which sealed the fate of the continent: in short, when our prospects were ten times worse than before, all at once, up started the chancellor of the exchequer, with a plan ready cut and dry, calculated under his direction, by a number of schoolmaster's, professors, and other *savants* put in requisition, *a la Françoise*, by which it was demonstrated, by A + B — X + Y, that Lord Henry could defray the expenses of war, nearly for ever, without any new taxes: that the funds would rise far above par, and that there would be no difficulty but that of preventing the nation from overflowing with prosperity!!!

The universal question was, where has this great calculator learnt all this; he is a conjuror says one; he studied with Katerfelto says another; no, says a third, he learnt to shuffle and cut with Breslaw and Comus; a fourth says, he loves *strange ways*. But, after all, it was discovered by Lord Castlereagh, a man of good plain sense, as well as a calculator, aspiring to no supernatural powers, that A + B — X + Y, would ruin the country.— Then the people began to recollect that the days of miracles were over; and that all that glitters is not gold.

It was at last discovered that Lord Henry Petty was copying the famous plan of Mr. Necker, by which he ruined the finances of France, which, stript of algebraical calculation, was simply this—To pay the interest of former loans out of the last, and let the principal accumulate by compound interest*. It was indeed admitted that Lord Henry took a very ingenious method; such as, if a man wanted to go from St. James's to Whitechapel, he should call at Brentford, and Hammersmith, and Walthamstow, on his way, thereby deceiving the lookers on, who would never conceive that he was going to Whitechapel, till, all at once, in he crawls, after a most astonishingly complicated journey.

Those who knew how Lord Henry had been educated, under M. Dumont of Geneva, (a man who, with Duroveray†, volunteered to assist Mirabeau

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* This was just the reverse of the sinking fund, and every one now knows how rapidly that increases in its progress.

† Duroveray and Dumont arrived at Paris when the first assembly began. Duroveray was a Genevese refugee, who had been received at the New Geneva in Ireland; but as soon as this revolutionary knight errant heard of the meeting of the states general, off he set for Paris, taking Monsieur Dumont by his way; and those

in overturning the French government, and who was always dreaming of republics), suspected that he had misled Lord Henry; but all was conjecture. Be that as it may, the ministry, of which he was a member, was dismissed, and the chancellor sent to sell his Orvietan, where he could find a purchaser: and, as if he were himself sensible that the nation lost nothing by rejecting his plan, he has been silent about it; and so have all his friends. It was an abortion; though full formed, yet ill-favoured, of which the family seems to be ashamed.

Lord Henry Petty soon after became Marquis of Lansdown; and, with the dignity, seems to court the *otium*, that could not well be enjoyed by a younger brother.

The father of the present marquis was one of the best-informed men of his time, and was an encourager of the arts as well as of men of genius. He was himself a man of great abilities, and took great pains to educate both his sons, and to make them distinguished men.

The unfortunate period in which we have lived, has spoiled many a young man. The French revo-

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two, with Claviere and Mirabeau, laid the plan for the destruction of the family of Bourbon. They contrived assignats.

lution looked at first so well, and captivated so many ardent spirits, that they never could afterwards get rid of the bias the mind took in the moment of enthusiasm.

The old marquis, who was not a favourite at court, had as much bias towards liberty and equality as a man of sense, and of thirty thousand a-year, could be well supposed to have; but the sons had not the actual enjoyment of the fortune, and they had not the experience of the father, so that they viewed the grand triumph of the disciples of Voltaire and Rousseau with more admiration.

The late marquis carried his democracy to a wild extreme, that at one time endangered his person; but the present marquis, although a younger man, was more moderate and prudent, and never, at any time deviated from what was fair and right; for whether a man happens to be in error or not, as to his way of thinking, it is fair and right for him to maintain his opinion, provided it does not go the length to injure the state, or to unhinge society.

EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

This nobleman has exerted his abilities as a writer, an orator, and a member of the diplomatic corps. He attacked repeatedly the finances of the country, with more passion, less good humour, and in a less amusing manner than Thomas Paine. His speeches have greatly resembled his writings; and, as to his diplomatic abilities, he was greatly outdone by Lord Yarmouth, a young nobleman chosen from amongst the English prisoners in France, (by a sort of chance), as a fit person to commence a negotiation with this country.

To continue such an ambulant ambassador, and employ him in a formal manner, as the representative of the king of England, by no means suited the great and important business intended to be transacted. The noble earl was therefore chosen with a suit of secretaries and messengers. The servants in his train resembled in small the train of Buonaparte, when he went to make discoveries, and to conquer Egypt; yet with all his mental and physical means, he retrograded every day, and staid at last three

months in Paris, when there was not the least appearance of success.

Lord L. wrote a book, in which there is considerable merit, which he termed an answer to Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations. The book would be very well if it had another title, as it happens not to be an answer to that great writer.

Lord L. was one of the early friends who were displeased and disappointed when the Prince Regent preferred the interests of his country to his private feelings; and having quitted Carlton-House, has taken up his abode at a residence he calls Dunbar-house, from whence he carries on an active correspondence with the issuers of silver tokens, to ascertain their weight, quality, and quantity, as Sir John Sinclair used to do, to collect anecdotes about the longevity of men, and the strength of rams*; and as Mr. Horne Tooke named his

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* Whoever was the author of the proverb that "Comparisons are odious", we cannot help observing that they are very useful, and very natural—sometimes they are unavoidable. Philosophers who treat of concatenation of ideas, were certainly not altogether wrong—Gog and Magog—Castor and Pollux—Pylades and Orestes—have been from time immemorial considered as connected; that is, think of the one, and the other always occurs. The pope, the devil, and the

profound researches into the etymology of words, Diversions at Parley, to show how a man of learning sports with studies that are sufficient to overcome common capacities, so we advise Lord L. to collect his information relative to eighteen-penny pieces, into one volume, and call it Diversions at Dunbar. The alliteration is greatly in favour of the title, and it will be quite as appropriate.

When Mr. Fox and his friends came into office, in 1806, the great project was to send Lord L. to India, as governor-general: but that gave the directors a fit of the fever so strong, that the treasury was obliged to yield to Leadenhall-street for once. And such was the dread of his lordship's mission, that all those who were interested in India affairs rose in a mass against the appointment: and amongst those of the early friends of the prince, none was so much mortified as the noble earl, whose actions and writings for a number of years

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pretender, were associated by the whigs of the last century—Pitt and Cobourg in latter times—Erskine and the trial by jury—and consequently Yarmouth and Lauderdale, are always associated. See the article Yarmouth.

have plainly shewn that he wanted to establish such a character for knowledge in matters of finance, as would induce the prince, when he should come to power, to place him in a very high and important situation; in which case the country might perhaps be seized with the same fever that attacked the India directors.

The Earl of Lauderdale, with good intention, and sufficient ability to have been very useful, embraced the wrong side of the question at the beginning of the French revolution: and notwithstanding the total change in French politics, he, like many others, is still in opposition to the politics of Britain; which, if they were wrong at first, as endeavouring to crush liberty, are not so now, when opposed to the most dreadful despotism the world ever saw.

Blameable or not, his lordship is not singular in his obstinacy, neither does he stand alone; but has many companions in disappointment in regard to the woes predicted as ready to fall on the British empire, for persisting in opposing French ambition.

His lordship is one of those who, through the whole of the French revolution, viewed the conduct of Britain as being wrong; and it is not unlikely, that, finding out a mistake, he was too proud to

allow himself to acknowledge, he attributed his error to the nature of the subject, and very wisely withdrew his attention to the affairs of Europe, on the great scale, to the study of eighteen-penny tokens

There is great wisdom in changing our line of study, when it is not found to answer. Mr. Herschel did so; he left the violin for the telescope, and became one of the greatest astronomers in the world: and it would by no means be surprising if Lord Lauderdale was to discover some new mode of compounding, or of striking, or of circulating, tokens, that would put an end to all the difficulties about the coin of the kingdom.

COUNT DE LIEVEN,

RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR.

THOUGH the immense empire of all the Russias is, in the general mass of its population, far behind some other nations in Europe in knowledge and civilization, yet the nobles are, on the contrary, before the most part of European nobility in the acquirements of the mind.

If Russia does not enjoy all the advantages of some nations that are more advanced, she likewise is free from many of the inconveniences which they labour under*.

No nation has had such a succession of able

* There is a very marked difference between the character of the Russian nation and of most others. It seems to be the only nation that makes an effort to advance either in arts or civilization, and where the effort seems general. Frederick the Great, indeed, gave a temporary energy to Prussia; but the effort died with him. Sweden and Denmark have long been stationary. Poland sinks, and Austria does not make any exertion.

sovereigns as Russia, for more than a century; consequently, there is no court in Europe where the nobility seek so much to distinguish themselves by talents and knowledge; and to this we are to add, that the natives of Russia, who have the advantage of education, shew uncommon abilities. In all the four wars of Russia with France, the Russian generals have distinguished themselves, and fallen into no errors*.

The Russian generals have displayed uncommon talents on all occasions, and their success has been proportioned to their talents. The wisdom of the Russian cabinet, and its true policy, have long been remarked by other nations.

Count Lieven was chosen from amongst the nobility of Russia, as a most fit ambassador to represent the emperor of the greatest nation of the north, on one of the most important occasions that ever occurred;

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* *The Four Wars.*—First, under Swarrow in Italy. He succeeded till the jealousy of Austria got him into a snare. Second, when the Emperor was abandoned by his ally at Austerlitz. Third, when Prussia rashly advanced, and was defeated; and when England hung back, and the Emperor Alexander was obliged to sign the treaty of Tilsit. And fourth and last, the glorious, and ever memorable war of 1812-13.

and never was a mission attended with more honourable circumstances. The Russian ambassador is more like a member of the British cabinet, than a foreign minister. He represents a master whose views are so just, so noble, and so perfectly in unison with the good of mankind, and the views of the British court, that there is none of the diplomatic *art* necessary. We now see a diplomatic character without duplicity; a novelty which is owing to the excellent views of the Emperor Alexander; the honourable principles of the ambassador himself; and the fair intentions, and earnest wishes of the British government, to ensure the safety of Europe, in conjunction with those powerful nations who, encouraged by the Russian emperor, and aided by his powerful armies, are on the eve of putting an end to the misfortunes, under which the continent has laboured for nearly a quarter of a century*.

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* This new era produces new phenomena. To deceive, or at least to conceal the object in view, and the means of attaining it, were generally the employments of ambassadors. We now see an ambassador who has no view but to co-operate with the power to which he is sent. The emperor has not stipulated for half the pecuniary aid to which he is entitled, and which it would be wise to afford him.

It already appears that attempts will be made by the French and their numerous emissaries, to throw suspicions on the views of Russia, and to excite a fear that she aims at becoming the arbitrator of Europe, as a preliminary to becoming its master*. Both the inclination and interest of the French may lead to such an insinuation; for, mortified as they must be with their own failure, and desirous of avenging it on the nation which has been the immediate instrument of their humiliation, they will naturally endeavour to excite suspicion; but let it be in due time observed, that every circumstance tends to prove that the liberation of Europe, not its subjugation, are the views of the Emperor of Russia. His generals, who were so successful in beating the

* The emperor has better and wiser views. Russia has sufficient extent of territory to advance agriculture, and improve the mechanical arts, which is all that is necessary to her becoming great and powerful; for which purpose great efforts will undoubtedly be made when peace is restored. A work on this subject is now preparing, intituled—"*An Inquiry into the Means by which the Russian Empire may find its Wealth, and productive Industry augmented three-fold, while the Revenues of the State would be doubled, and general Prosperity increased.*"

French on their own ground, have not taken the chief command in Germany, but they have actually fought under those whom, twelve-months ago, they were fighting against! Is this like ambition? Have not all the proclamations, and all the actions of the emperor shewn, that he considered the general liberty of Europe as essential to the safety and happiness of individual states? And has he not seen what is the terrible destiny of the man who has too inordinate ambition? Must Russia not learn a lesson from the enemy, and see, that to seek conquests, when a nation is already great, is attended with imminent danger?

It may be said, all this is true, but that the future emperors may not be so generous and just as the present magnanimous prince. It would indeed be very strange if there was to be such another prince on the same throne for a century to come, we must not therefore count upon that; but this we must insist upon, that by heading the present coalition, the emperor of Russia is doing the act that is of all others most likely to prevent any one power from attempting to rule over other nations; or if any one does make such an attempt, Russia shows the best mode of defeating it.

The Russian monarch's conduct is above suspicion, and it is to be unacquainted with the history of mankind, to suppose that any order of things can be established that may not, at some future day, be deranged by the ambition, the vice, or the ignorance of mankind; but we may say, in the language of the imperial proclamation that roused the continent—

"It would be an abuse of the goodness of Providence not to take advantage of this crisis, to reconstruct the equilibrium of Europe, and thereby insure public tranquillity, and individual happiness."

For this glorious purpose has the Emperor Alexander quitted his states, and for this glorious purpose has the Count de Lieven been sent to this country. The emperor, the ambassador, and the cause, are worthy of each other.

EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

His lordship, who is the first person in the present administration, has had singular advantages that fit him well for that high office.

He had two of the best statesmen of the age for his instruction and example, with whom he acted after having been bred under them.

The late Lord Liverpool was a man of great learning and abilities, at the same time that he was a profound statesman, and a man of upright, honourable principles, without any of those indirect and crooked views that often distort the character of the ablest politicians.

Mr. Pitt was the other personage with whom his lordship was nearly connected, and day after day shews more and more the wisdom of that great minister. Never did any minister withstand so impetuous a torrent, the force of which, both moral and physical, was directed against the government of his country; and never did any minister render so important a service to the world.

We talk of the dark ages that succeeded the fall

of the Roman empire, and we may speak equally truly of the dark and dismal period that succeeded the fall of the throne of France, when the whole of the civilized world was at first threatened with the most destructive anarchy, and next with the most dreadful despotism.

Mr. Pitt resisted this storm when the rest of the world was in despair, and when, even amongst ourselves, a very great portion of the well-informed, as well as of the ignorant, thought that his labours were in vain. The great confidence that all had in Mr. Pitt's unimpeachable integrity, and great abilities, procured him support when there was but scarcely a ray of hope; and though that great and good man did not live to see the glorious end of his labours, he lived to secure it; and to the policy he adopted it is, that, under heaven, we owe the salvation of our country.

The first danger arose from the progress of a mistaken, but a very specious, deceitful, and dangerous political system. The second arose from the immense power that France had acquired; the force of her arms, and the subjugation of the continent.

Those dangers were resisted and repulsed, when the timid and the hopeless would have sealed the

doom of the world, by the acquiescence of Great Britain in the aggrandisement of France, until the ambition of the ruler of France became so great, that resistance on the part of Britain was absolutely unavoidable. Britain had no choice but tame submission, or continuing the contest; and after the death of Mr. Pitt the contest was maintained from necessity which had till then been maintained by his policy.

His immediate successors tried to change the plan. They did all that men could do to ruin Britain; and we certainly owe its preservation to the ambition, obstinacy, and folly of our enemy.

After a year of blunders, and of humiliating attempts, (to be permitted) to sink in the rank of nations, that ruinous administration was dismissed with disgrace, and the former coadjutors of Mr. Pitt succeeded, when there were no longer any mean or inefficient offers to humble ourselves before a haughty enemy. Britain again assumed the proper attitude, and in defiance of all the attempts to persuade the nation that the contest was hopeless, we have seen a greater change of fortune than the most sanguine could expect. Infatuation has seized our enemy. The heart of Pharaoh has been hardened,

and he has been overwhelmed by the misfortunes his folly has brought upon him.

No minister of this country ever lived at so prosperous a period as Lord Liverpool, and it appears that our moderation in success will be equal to our firmness in the hour of danger and dismay.

Lord Liverpool succeeded Mr. Perceval, and the business of the nation goes on with much less bustle than before*, when Mr. Perceval appeared

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* When Mr. Pitt died, his coadjutors lost courage, and resigned. They thought themselves unequal to the task of governing their country: but when the *Talents* were dismissed, the same men came in, and succeeded very well. A second time they lost courage, on the death of Mr. Perceval; till, finding a new administration could not be formed, they resumed their courage, and things have gone on better than ever. Not that we mean to say that it is to the present men altogether that the success is owing, for the tide of events has turned; but we must allow that all the affairs, internal and external, that depend on them, go on fully as well. There is as much firmness, and less inflexibility, than in the time of Mr. Perceval, and there is much less parade. No reflection is meant on a good man, who lost his life in a most lamentable manner: but truth obliges us to say, that things go on more smoothly, and the machine of state makes less noise than it did in his time.

personally to do every thing, and when the nation resounded with discussions in parliament, and the difficulties that were constantly assailing the ministers.

His lordship is an acute and accurate reasoner, has a dignified delivery, and an easy flow of eloquence, without any thing of that supercilious air that arises from the possession of power, or consciousness of superior talents. Actuated by the same spirit that guided Mr. Pitt, he is as correct in his conduct, more accommodating, and less inflexible; and we believe he has more knowledge of mankind, and an equal regard for the welfare of his country.

RIGHT HON. CHARLES LONG, M. P.

PAYMASTER of the forces, and for many years joint secretary to the treasury with Mr. Rose. He is a man who is very attentive to his duty, who performs it well, and has always, both in and out of parliament, seconded the views of Mr. Pitt; and has been a very useful man in every station that he has filled, without that species of turbulent pretension for which some clever men of business are too remarkable.

Mr. Long is not what the Americans call a lengthy speaker, nor is he what we call an orator; but he speaks well, with information of his subject; and whenever he does speak, obtains attention. Few political men who have filled important situations, have created to themselves a smaller number of enemies than Mr. Long.

LOUIS XVIII.

EX-KING OF FRANCE.

The moment approaches when it will probably be finally determined whether the Bourbon race will be restored to the throne of France, or some new arrangement take place.

What may be the degree of probability of either event, it is impossible to say, but should Louis XVIII. ascend the throne, he will become one of the most important political characters in Europe. If he does not mount the throne now, the restoration of his family probably never will take place.

Louis XVIII. is an extremely well-informed prince. Previous to the revolution he kept aloof from the intrigues of the court of France, and since he has been in adversity, he has displayed many virtues. His Majesty has in particular shewn his humanity towards the emigrants who followed the fortunes of his family. It is true, that to support or assist such men was in some sort a duty, but

how far did that duty extend? It must have, like every thing else, a limit, and we believe that he extended it as far as he had the means*, without attention, in many cases, to his own comfort.

When a revenue was assigned to an exiled prince, to support, in some shape his dignity, he could not live exactly like a private man. So long as the restoration of the house of Bourbon was a possible and a desirable event, so long was it necessary that Louis XVIII. should be considered as the chief of that house, and therefore he could not, as some have pretended to expect, strip himself of every thing necessary to preserve his rank.

As to personal virtues, this prince is endowed with many, and his long adversity has afforded numerous opportunities for their exertion; but the immense number of his adherents† has rendered

* We have heard of his even depriving himself of jewels, and such property, to relieve individuals unknown to him, but from their misfortunes, and their cause. As to the Duchess of Angouleme, her conduct is beyond praise—it commands admiration.

† Besides their number, the French, when in difficulty, press so hard for relief, that it is very painful for a feeling mind to withold it. The best manner of getting rid of an importunate Frenchman is, to let him go on without remonstrance, and probably he will

him altogether unable to grant the relief which his will would do, and which their extreme necessities incline them to expect.

The allied powers have very wisely determined that they will not point out to France what she is to do in respect to her interior government, though they may indicate what they would wish, as being for the benefit of all parties; and on this subject much might have been said, and we certainly should have extended, had not the moment that will decide the question been so near that before this portrait can be published, the affair may probably be decided in one way or other*.

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carry his demand to an indecorous pitch, and so give not only the means, but the feelings, that accord with a refusal.

* Every one will admit, that to follow the example of the Dutch, and take back the old government, would be the most likely way to put an end to the troubles that have desolated France, but sufficient pains have not been taken to make known the views of Louis XVIII. were the family to be reinstated; and indeed there is a real difficulty. When Charles II. of England was restored, it was done as if by acclamation; and being the rightful heir, he always thought of the throne as it had been in his father's time. James II. his brother, who was not so careless a man, and who had children, attached himself still more earnestly to the cause of the preservation of what is termed royal prerogative, and he found it necessary to abdicate the

One great objection to the present ruler, or to any of the same sort, is, that he has never held his word sacred; and that the revolutionary morality is that of banditti, and admits of a line of conduct that is incompatible with the welfare of society. Good faith and honour are indispensable to the happiness of mankind; most of the persons who owe their rise to the revolution, are accustomed to consider it as meritorious to obtain their ends without rejecting any means by which that can be done.

The nations of Europe have a right to put themselves in a safe position relative to France. They

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throne. When William III. ascended the throne, he did not do it by right, but by a compact with the representatives of the nation, that is, the parliament; he therefore had no right, or appearance of right, to think of any prerogatives but such as he was invested with by that compact, in virtue of which he mounted the throne. The best way, in the present case, might probably be for a compact to be made, which the allies should guarantee; and now that the French nation are convinced by experience, that the visionary and impracticable schemes of liberty and equality are fraught with great danger, they might be glad to adopt such a constitution as would render them happy without pretending to that degree of perfection that is incompatible with the nature of man; the attempt to establish which was the cause of so much misfortune and misery to that once happy country.

have suffered immensely by her outrageous conduct, and nothing could give so much security as the reinstatement of the ancient family, in the person of the brother of the last reigning sovereign, whose virtues and forbearance had so great a hand in bringing him to the scaffold.

The pride of the French nation ought not to be wounded by this; on the contrary, being already wounded by the errors into which it has been led by designing men, it ought to consider such a step as a reparation of error that is highly honourable: it will be so looked upon by all nations, and it is an event which more than any other is likely to lead to a safe and solid balance of power amongst European nations.

STEPHEN RUMBOLD LUSHINGTON, ESQ. M.P.

SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY.

THE family of Lushington is not numerous, but they are all men of superior intellect and acquirements*.

Mr. Lushington has, for some time, been the chairman of the committees in the House of Commons, an office of very considerable labour, and

* Mr. William Lushington, who was formerly an alderman, and one of the members for the city, is one of the best informed men in the mercantile world; to which he adds the soundest sense, and a degree of general knowledge that is very rarely to be found. Sir Stephen Lushington was long a leading director at the India-house, and assisted with great zeal and ability in conducting the great concerns of that immense establishment, under very difficult circumstances. He devoted nearly the whole of his time and attention to India affairs, till the latest period of his life.

which requires both abilities and attention; and he is now removed to the treasury, where he is joint secretary with Mr. Arbuthnot. He is now in a place where his talents will be still more useful, for there much depends on the discretion of those who are in that office.

Mr. Rose and Mr. Long, without prodigality, filled that place better than their immediate successors; but the office is very laborious, and requires almost constant attention, as well as honour, prudence, and sagacity.

In every respect Mr. Lushington appears to be well adapted for the situation; and if peace should come, (a safe and honourable peace), he will have the advantage of filling it at a time when the disagreeable part of the business will be over.

The standing revenue of the country is now so great, and the progress of the sinking fund so rapid, that if we are once again in a situation to go on without new loans, the abundance of money in this country will be such as has no example.

Above twenty millions a-year of the debt will be reimbursed, and employment must be found for that twenty millions somewhere. In addition to the annual accumulation of capital, which is equal

so as much more, that is in all about forty millions.

Before the American war, the sinking fund then established paid off rather more than a million annually, and then there was a difficulty of getting three and a half *per cent.* interest, on good security!

Meetings were held to propose petitioning the minister not to let the sinking fund increase further, but the war came, and rendered that step unnecessary. What then will be the case when even our annual loans have not been able to absorb the accumulating capital?

Those who consider this as a ruined nation, and supported by paper, will no doubt laugh at what we say; but let those gloomy minded persons explain, why during the American war, all enterprise was at an end, for want of money; and why it is, that, during the present contest, more expensive and of longer duration, buildings, canals, wet docks, and enterprises of every sort, have gone on faster than ever they did in the time of peace? This phenomenon is more unaccountable than that to which we have been looking forward; and it is certain, that if we have a solid and durable peace, money will be

in such abundance, that it will be very difficult to find means of employment for it.

The present sinking fund, if allowed to proceed, would, in less than twenty years pay off all the national debt: but that would be a great evil; and we shall want another wise man, equal to Mr. Pitt, to find how the torrent of prosperity may be conducted so as not to injure the nation*.

It is a matter of satisfaction to see such a man as Mr. Lushington made secretary to the treasury at such a time.

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* Capital flies from a nation when there is too much: it did so from Holland; and if we do not take care, British capital will emigrate to North America. The improvement of waste lands, making inclosures in favourable situations from the sea, and encouraging industry in Ireland, are the only employments, on the great scale, that remain for additional capital.

JAMES MADISON,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

THE character of this gentleman is not fully developed. It is yet an enigma whether he is a traitor to his country, or the dupe of French politics.

Excepting the marauding expedition of his friend Buonaparte to Moscow, at the beginning of winter, we know nothing so unprincipled or unwise as the war declared by James Madison on Great Britain, at the time when that step was taken.

So much has been said on the alleged grievances of America, that it would far exceed our bounds to enter into that question; and it is sufficient to observe, that, for years, the complaint has changed its form; and that the only great cause of discontent was removed before any important hostilities took place.

America has been ill-treated by France again and again; in short, constantly, and on every occasion: yet she has never complained. But she has as con-

stantly complained of England; and her grievances, though they changed like figures in a magic lantern, yet they never ceased to assume the form of grievances in her laboured manifestoes, which were in fact nothing more than jesuitical memorials, to gloss over an improper line of conduct.

The right and wrong of the case, however, is not the most important part of the business. We have no right to judge for the President of the United States, in respect of what he was to do with other nations, but we know what was his duty towards his own.

James Madison's duty was to do the best for the interests of America, and he could not be ignorant that peace was her interest. Never, since the world began, had any nation increased in wealth so fast as America, since the commencement of the disturbances in Europe, and she would have continued to do so had she preserved the peace with England, for there was no other power could approach her shores. Peace with England was peace with the world, for no other nation could be brought into contact with her to carry on war.

Had Britain commenced the attack, the case would have been widely different; but it was begun with precipitation and impatience, and has been

carried on with an unusual degree of irritability by America.

Mr. Madison is president of a free republic, and he cannot be ignorant that Britain was fighting to defend the liberties of mankind, at the very moment that he made the attack on her; neither could he be blind to the ultimate consequences. Should Britain fall, his own America must fall likewise; he therefore risked those liberties it was his first duty to guard from every danger.

Mr. Madison knew that the wealth and population of America were rapidly on the increase, and that war must stop both, so far as they were derived either from the emigration from Europe, or the commerce with Europe; he therefore risked the future liberty, and sacrificed the present prosperity of the country both of which it was his first duty to protect and preserve.

Perhaps Mr. Madison was made to believe that the West India Islands and Canada would be given up to the states, and that her internal industry would be greatly augmented by the shutting her ports against Great Britain. Perhaps the cry of, "Perish commerce," exploded in Europe, as contrary to all experience, and every wise principle, had obtained credit in America, and the agricultural system was

adopted, as the philosophers who murdered so many of the French, and ruined the country, had done at the beginning of the revolution: or perhaps Buonaparte had promised to make Mr. Madison king of America!

Though all these are suppositions, yet that some one is, or that all of them are true, is without a doubt. Mr. Madison must have either thought to benefit his country or himself; and how could either be done but in some of those ways? It is therefore necessary to inquire into the ignorance of the man who would give credit to any of those promised advantages.

That at some future day America may obtain a share of the West India Islands is not doubtful; but the day is not near; and all Europe is at present interested in preventing her from having any of them. If then, Buonaparte had conquered all Europe, and of course Britain, could it be expected that he would not take all the islands to himself, in order that he might have ships, colonies, and commerce? As to Canada, that would be a small acquisition to America, but a very important one to France: therefore neither could that be expected.

If Mr. Madison wished to be king, he was neither

more nor less than a traitor to his country, and therefore neither more nor less is to be said about it, although a good deal may be thought on the subject*.

If Mr. Madison has only been led away by the idea that the loss of external commerce would be compensated by the internal industry, he is not so blameable. A president or ruler is obliged to be an honourable man, and faithful to his country, to the best of his knowledge†; but he is not bound to be

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* If it was even being president for life, the matter was nearly the same; and indeed controuling the majority of his countrymen, and guiding the politics at the instigation of a French faction, which Mr. Madison certainly does, is not much better.

† Even many well-informed men were led into the belief, that commerce and manufactures were of little importance to a state, and that agriculture was almost every thing; but they were Europeans that fell into this error: and the wise Americans, who boast of excelling the Europeans in all sorts of knowledge, who pretend to be a superior people with regard to state policy, ought to have known that the chief difficulty America has to struggle with, internally, is the preventing of agriculture from swallowing up all the capital and industry of the country; and that, till it ceases to offer such advantages, other sorts of industry cannot flourish. Men will cultivate their fields and live on the produce; but though they

a well-informed man; and therefore he is only bound to act as well as his knowledge enables him.

Mr. Madison, however, or those who are about him, might know, that until America becomes more populous, until the wages of labour fall, and the use of money is of less value, it will never be a manufacturing country; and that whenever the ports are opened to European goods, the greatest part of those manufactories that are established will

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may individually have good eating and drinking, they will not become rich. They will have no market for the surplus produce, and therefore they will have no inducement to produce a surplus. It is when men can find a market for every thing that their labour can produce, that they become industrious, and produce all that they can.

At one time Flanders was a commercial country, and then it was the most wealthy in the north of Europe; Venice and Genoa were rich from the same cause. To Flanders the kings of England sent to borrow money on their jewels; and at Bruges, in Flanders, a queen of France found the citizens' wives drest as if they were all queens. Flanders is still a fine country for agriculture: the fields are as fertile as ever; but wealth is fled with commerce, and the queens of Bruges (we speak from our own knowledge) are about as well drest as the queens that sell fruit in Covent-garden.

fall to decay, as the manufacturers neither can give the long credit, nor sell at the low prices that Europeans can do.

America has immense advantages if she studies circumstances, but while the breaking in of her land absorbs capital and industry, she can never become a manufacturing country; and after her population has arrived at something like its natural degree, (which will yet be some centuries), it will only be in some parts that manufactures will flourish; for where a country is very fertile, manufactures seldom or never thrive*. The finest and fairest portions of the globe are peopled with a poor and wretched set of inhabitants. Riches and prosperity followed industry; but as a fine soil and climate enable men to live without much exertion, it often happens that where men ought to be best, they are worst; and where they might be expected to be very well, they are frequently in a very indifferent situation. Who, for example, would expect to find in Sweden, and the north of Scotland, most of the

* As one example, from Birmingham to Wolverhampton, there is a tract of barren land, some miles in breadth. The country that is barren is full of manufacturers; but on each side, where fertility begins, manufactures cease.

comforts of life enjoyed by the inhabitants, and to witness the fields of Egypt, Greece, and Italy, inhabited by squalid wretches, who live in a state little above that of the brute creation; and who, as to moral principles, are degraded infinitely below the savages in the wilds of America*.

* A great difference appears between the aborigines in America, and men in the old world, in the most rude state of society, in the earliest ages of which any thing is known. When we consider the little means that rude savages, if left to themselves, have of rising above the state they are in; when we, at the same time, reflect on the history of the early ages, we feel inclined to think that the first spark of philosophy came from heaven.

The fallen state of man was believed in by the ancient heathen philosophers. The Platonists, Stoics, and Pythagoreans, all believed something of such an event. Amongst rude men of the newly discovered world, we find nothing similar; we do not even find that disposition to civilization which was evident in the earliest ages, amongst the Egyptians and Assyrians.

Why we should be so surprised at the manner of America being peopled, when it is only at one part separated from Asia by a strait of about 75 miles, and yet never trouble ourselves about the population of islands in the great South Sea, is very strange. It shews that men of research are as capricious, or as inconsiderate as other men. The scripture history, without insisting at all on its sacred origin, gives so natural an account of the manners of mankind, in a world not near fully peopled, that there can be no sort of doubt a-

The Americans will do well to learn from the experience of the ancient world, which, if properly used, is to them a most invaluable inheritance; but if they have the vanity to imagine that they can otherwise escape the dangers and inconveniences that attend men in a numerous society, they will be greatly mistaken. The thin state of society in America makes it so different from most countries in Europe, that in customs, manners, and above all, the nature of government, there is a great difference.

With us, land is the most valuable of possessions; and the labour of men is comparatively of little value.

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to its authenticity; and indeed it does not, in that respect, differ from the most authentic of the prophane historians. The emigration of the patriarchal families from one part of the country to another; their journey to Egypt to escape a famine; and their settling in Palestine; are all proofs of the uninhabited state of many parts of the world. The city of Carthage was founded by a colony that settled from a distance, and the Romans in Italy were strangers. None of those events (and they are all similar) would have happened in a world fully peopled. It is consequently clear, that about 1200 years before the Christian era, the world was in many parts nearly desert. It was therefore not very ancient at that time; yet what taste, what arts, science, and philosophy! How unlike the American tribes. We cannot reasonably consider this and doubt that some knowledge came from a superior source.

We are too many for the ground we occupy; they are too few.

It is in America that posterity will see how rapidly a new people adopts the errors of those who have gone before, when those errors happen to conduce to present conveniency. We see the borrowing system adopted in America, though the nations of the old world carried on wars for two thousand years, without that means. It is not then necessity that obliges the Americans to adopt the plan, it is conveniency; and if Mr. Madison lives long, and has his way, that country will be burthened in a heavier way than any country in Europe.

There are many sources of revenue in a well-peopled country, that, in one thinly inhabited, are found to be quite unproductive. Many taxes that are found to answer in England, would not pay for their collection in America, so that the pressure of debt will there be felt with double severity.

The American war will answer one good purpose; it will shew the Americans the difference of fighting in a good, and in a bad cause. When the Americans fought for liberty, they did wonders. Now that they fight for a faction, their efforts are contemptible, for we are not to attribute their success at sea to their bravery, but to the great number of

British seamen they have in their ships, who fight with desparation, because they fight to avoid an ignominous death, and who, besides, are all chosen men from their mercantile marine; whereas Britain has so many ships to man, that she is obliged to take such sailors as she can get.

It will at all events be allowed, that the battles by land furnish the truest criterion for our judgement of the manner in which the troops of the two countries fight, and from them we may learn that it will be long before America will be a warlike nation.

When the sad reverse of fortune which the French despot has experienced is known in America, then will the people of that country see the mistaken policy of Mr. Madison; and having had the honour and advantage of having had, in a Washington, one of the best and greatest of men for their governor, they will feel the mortification and disadvantage of having, in a Madison, one of the men with the most narrow and mistaken views that ever ruled over a civilized and intelligent people*.

* The only advantage the Americans will derive from the present war, will be experience and moderation: in that respect Mr. Madison will be a successful, though a very expensive schoolmaster.

SIR JAMES MANSFIELD.

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE COMMON PLEAS.

No judge ever confined himself to his own line more than Sir James, who has never paid any attention to politics*. He is very attentive to the merits of the case before him, but is thought not to make a sufficient distinction between objects of great importance, and others that are of very little. To the latter he gives more time and consideration than they deserve, and sometimes to the former scarcely enough.

His lessons are not quite so cheap, or so soon learned as those of Joseph Lancaster, written upon a bed of sand; but they are far more easily retained, and the impression is more durable.

* It is a great misfortune that we have in this country two courts in which the fees of office, the manner of proceeding, and many other things are unlike, and that it is quite optional to the plaintiff in which court he may sue: what is worse, a man may be sued in both courts at once, and moved from one prison to the other at a great expense and great inconvenience. All this might easily be remedied: nothing but the will to do so is wanting, the way is well known.

SIR JAMES M'INTOSH, KNT.

THE distinguished talents of this gentleman have been exerted and displayed on subjects so connected with objects that are important, at all times, but particularly so at present, that we give his portrait with peculiar pleasure, and we hope it will be studied with particular advantage.

Sir James (then Mr. M'Intosh) was but a very young man, and had not finished his studies as a barrister, when he became one of the most zealous, and by far the most able defender of the French revolution in this country. He was the only antagonist of Mr. Burke (one of the most profound, most elegant, and most fanciful writers of the age), who deserved to be named as an opponent worthy of him.

On the wrong side of the question, Mr. M'Intosh shewed powers of reasoning and elegance of style that left all those who admired the French constitution, and who defended the same cause, at an immense distance. Had the same talents been

employed on the other side, they would have produced the happiest effects.

Whilst the young advocate for the rights of man came so near the Nestor of the age in acuteness of reasoning, and elegance of style, he far surpassed him in candour and moderation, and therefore his arguments carried with them double weight.—Though the reveries of revolutionists are long since exploded, the *Vindiciæ Galicæ* of M'Intosh will remain as a master-piece of its kind.

That the French nation was not free before the revolution, has never been denied, and certainly a generous-minded and well-intentioned man, who thought it might become so by the efforts it was making, could not but approve of those efforts, and Mr. M'Intosh appears to have done it with all his mind. That he did not see into the wickedness, the ignorance, and the vain presumption of the leading men, is not surprising: he was young, and at a distance, and they were able impostors. They were first-rate Charlatans, mounted on a conspicuous stage, and acting, to appearance, a most admirable part. To free mankind was a glorious attempt had the way been wise, or the end practicable.

The French revolution originated in mind, and not in accidental circumstances; and not being

produced by physical force, as most other revolutions have been, set men's minds at work most actively in every country, and accordingly there were numbers of writers and speakers on both sides of the question in England; but of all who supported the cause, whilst it deserved support, Mr. M'Intosh was the only one, who, with a candour equally honourable and uncommon, changed his opinion in consequence of discovering his error.

We have said elsewhere, that it is now a leading blemish in the English character to be inflexible, and that unalterable obstinacy has assumed the guise of firmness, intrepidity, and resolution, but the superior mind of Mr. M. prevented him from running into an error, from which, even with all his talents, Mr. Fox was not free. Not that we would exalt the talents of Mr. M'Intosh above those of the man who so long headed opposition; but it is our duty to record the truth without explaining the cause, further than giving it as a supposition that the habits, and perhaps the interests, of party, swayed the mind of Mr. Fox, who admired the constitution of 1789, long after it was held in abhorrence by those who had assisted in planning and executing it.

This candid manner of acting is highly creditable, as Mr. M'Intosh had got great reputation by his

book, and as there are so few persons who will publicly own that they have been mistaken.

As a barrister, Mr. M'Intosh, in his defence of Peltier, (the editor of a French journal), for a libel on Buonaparte, displayed talents still superior to what he had shewn in pleading in defence of the revolutionists. It is quite a classical defence, and resembles more one of the orations of Demosthenes or Cicero, than any that we remember to have seen of late years, at the bar of a British court of justice. Mr. Attorney-general thought it in some places extraneous; and indeed the man who conducted the prosecution on the part of the tyrant of France, though nominally for the king of England, might well think it extraneous, when Mr. M. dwelt on the former dignity of the English character, and the admirable conduct of Elizabeth, who, in the cause of the oppressed, braved the anger of Spain, then the most powerful of European nations: mindful only of acting well, she was prepared for the consequences, and her magnanimity inspired her people with equal resolution, and equal generosity*.

* It is impossible, by description or by quotation, to do justice to that admirable defence, it must be read, for its beauties to be seen, and its merits appreciated.

When Sir J. M. became recorder of Bombay, he displayed great talents, and profound knowledge of law, but tinctured strongly with his northern education, which had a bias to metaphysical and political knowledge, in preference to a tame adherence to legal practice, and *cases upon record.*

As the English lawyers err on the other extreme, it is to be hoped that Sir James may find an opportunity to assist Sir Samuel Romilly in his reforms of English jurisprudence; for it is evident even to the ignorant, that the time is arrived, when, without despising, and losing respect for what is ancient, and approved by experience, many parts of our legal code require to be modernized, and a return made to first principles, instead of wading through volumes of precedents, a practice attended with innumerable disadvantages, though unfortunately it gains ground every day on the English bench*.

* In fact the law lords may be said to be law-makers, and the business is accomplished (without any apparent design, and probably without any real one) in a very curious manner. The law is interpreted not according to its meaning, as it appears on the face

We hope, most earnestly, that a return to perfect health will enable Sir James yet to serve his country, and that he will be enabled to do it in the situation of a judge; for though we approve more of the English than of the Scotch manner of administering justice, yet we think that there is something in the Scotch manner of viewing a question, that might be of use in the English courts. Experience proved it to be so in the time of a Mansfield, and it would, we have no doubt, find it so in the person of a M'Intosh.

P. S. Since this portrait was written, Sir James has obtained a seat in the house of commons, and opened as a speaker.

Most people thought that neither the time nor the subject was worthy of Sir James, but they did not recollect, that having heard the Prince Regent abused for quitting his early friends, he was anxious to shew that he was determined to stick *firmly by* his.

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of it, but according to decisions that have on former occasions taken place. Veneration for past decisions is very well, but a judge carries it rather too far when he gives up his own opinion, and allows himself to be implicity guided by it.

This was done contrary to his interest, for the opposition are in the state of Othello. Their occupation is gone; and what is more, ministers have been so successful, that the nation at large despises the efforts of opposition more than it ever did at any former period.

Sir James is vexed that the Dutch have, by acclamation, chosen the Prince of Orange for their sovereign. Does he not know that the original, and the best way of a people expressing their will is by acclamation? He who vindicated the French when they revolted on the plea of national will, may surely, without great wrath, allow the Dutch to choose the form of government they like best.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

COLONEL M'MAHON, M. P.

This gentleman, whose fidelity and attachment to the Prince Regent have been often tried, and long known, has lately become, for a time, an object of very unmerited persecution; but this very persecution served only to display, or at least to record, his private worth and good qualities in a more public, more unequivocal, and more authentic manner. The panegyrics of those who attacked his appointment to a sinecure office, could not be liable to suspicion. They were evidently the atonement made by truth to the cruel and outraged feelings of an injured gentleman.

Those disappointed politicians who expected that the prince would sacrifice the interests of his country, to the gratification of his private feelings, attacked, with an unnecessary and unbecoming violence, an appointment in which there was nothing peculiarly improper, and which, had they not been disappointed in their own views, they would have been the first to applaud, or at least to vindicate.

Eager as the party were to attack the appointment of a private secretary, they could not be brought to agree upon the propriety of denying to the representative of the sovereign, on whom all the duties of a king devolved, that assistance that is allowed to every minister of state. With their accustomed wisdom and justice (arising no doubt from a determination to unite in opposing the prince) they made a compromise, and united in a most unaccountable opinion—That though a private secretary was *necessary*, and of consequence, that it was necessary to pay him, yet that it should not be done from the public purse, but from that of his royal master!

This was something like the national assembly of France, who, wishing to insult the king, voted—"That though the palace of the Thuilleries had "been granted to his Majesty, as a residence, yet "as no mention had been made of the garden, "which was a garden, and not a palace, though a "necessary appendage, it should nevertheless belong "to the nation.*"

* This decree was passed after repeated threats from the jacobin mob in the gallery. The intention was to give the democrats an opportunity of insulting every person who entered or went from the

When the house of commons was on the point of disgracing itself by this absurd resolution, the prince, with that spirit of dignified conciliation and goodness for which he has been distinguished through life, put an end to the unworthy and absurd contest, by informing those mean *economists* that he would *pay his private secretary out of his private purse.*

This was deemed, by those who were blinded by party spirit, as a triumph over the prince, whilst it was in reality the *triumph of the prince over the party.*

Col. M. has in reality one of the most important places in the nation. It depends on that gentleman what papers shall be delivered, and what shall not be delivered to his Royal Highness; and it is perhaps not saying too much to say, that on him depends in a great measure the numerous and indescribable acts of beneficence which endear a sovereign to his

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palace by the great gate, which opened to the garden; it was also useful to insult any of the family that came to any of the window which looked into that famous national garden. This was about a month before the terrible 10th of August 1792, when the royal family were led to prison, and the menial servants slaughtered in a most cruel manner.

people, or alienate their affections: acts, which though of little importance in themselves, are productive sometimes of the most happy, or of the most unfortunate events.

Carlton-house, without ceasing to be *Carlton-house,* is become virtually St. James's palace; and the *Prince of Wales,* with all the power of a *King of England,* still lives and appears as *Prince of Wales.* He has by that means a double opportunity of endearing himself to his people. Col. M. very deservedly enjoys his confidence, and there is no doubt that his good sense, and affectionate attachment, will induce him to communicate to the prince whatever may be for his benefit; and that he will remember, that what it might be wise and well to keep from his Royal Highness *when enjoying rank without power,* it would now be the greatest injury and injustice to suppress. With a good head, a good heart, and good intentions, what may not a king of England do, if those around him will give him the opportunity, of which, even the luxurious and arbitrary monarchs of the east are jealous; that of knowing the wants and wishes of their subjects, communicated by petition.

EARL OF MALMSBURY.

One of the ablest of the old corps *diplomatique*, and a man whose knowledge might still be of great use.

The diplomacy of Europe has changed its nature twice within the last twenty-five years: it was then all address, finesse, and secret manœuvre. The game played was to deceive, in a genteel manner, a polished gentleman in like way. Dissimulation was allowed, but a word given must be kept. The French, who were the fathers of that ancient diplomacy, introduced a new mode; bold and open in appearance, but still more deceitful than that exploded, started up the diplomacy of the jacobin directory. Dissimulation was now thrown aside, and downright straight forward deception was practised; and the new code of honour adopted on the French side consisted in making the opponent believe, that what was false was true; what was serious was always treated as a matter of jest. This was the

way at the treaty of Amiens: but another mode was practised with still greater advantage; that was, to offer to negotiate, and to begin, if it was necessary, with a firm determination to do nothing.

All the courts of Europe, England included, have been deceived by this new mode of proceeding; for, as in fighting, nations went on in the old way, till at last they have been taught by experience, to adopt another mode of acting, which has taken place: so negotiations are now carried on more openly. The object is avowed, and it has been discovered, that treaties made when one party is overreached and deceived, are broken the first opportunity. The powers of Europe seem, therefore, to be determined to act on a principle of a different sort, and to seek for permanent peace by arrangements founded on mutual interests, and not directed by private views, or governed by accident or intrigue, and even sometimes by caprice, but never by a regular plan or system, such as might give permanent protection to the weak against the strong.

It is evident that no man could co-operate better in the execution of this new plan, than an ambassador of the old school, though perhaps it may be better to consult such a one privately, than to

send him forward publicly, on account of the prejudice that has been artfully excited against the old diplomacy.

WILLAM MELLISH, ESQ.

BANK DIRECTOR.

Mr. Mellish, Mr. Thornton, and the other bank directors, are men to whom the country owes great obligations for their prudence and moderation.

Ever since 1797, when the bank ceased to pay in specie, the amount of discounts has depended on the discretion of the directors: previous to that time it depended greatly on the means that the bank had of making payments; but since then there has been no check of the kind on the issuers of bank notes.

The amount of notes in circulation at one time was on an average about fourteen millions: it is now about twenty-two millions, of which nearly

five millions are of one and two pounds. That is as a supply for the guineas and silver that were till then in circulation. In reality, then, the discounts can only be said to have increased about three or four millions, which, in comparison to the expenditure of the country, bears a very small proportion*.

At the same time that the former check has been removed, one of another nature has been instituted. Previous to that time the amount in circulation was a secret to all but the directors, who were moreover sworn to keep that secret; but since then an annual account has been given to parliament of the amount.

This account is but a very inefficient check, as parliament assumes no power of interfering; but what is most to the credit of the directors, is the firmness and moderation with which they have listened to the abuse thrown out on their admirable establishment.

* The revenue, and particularly the portion that goes to pay the dividends in the funds, absorbs a greater or less quantity of the circulating medium, in proportion to its amount. As the revenue is more than doubled since 1797, so the augmentation of bank notes may be said to be very small in proportion.

Many members of opposition have spoken of bank notes as being merely pieces of paper; and the bank has been represented as in a state of insolvency, though nothing would have been more easy at any time than for the directors to give positive proof of the contrary, by withdrawing all their notes from circulation.

Such a mode of demonstration would indeed have been attended with danger to the country, but with none to the bank, further than as it is an establishment in the country. As the bank directors did not choose to let themselves be provoked to take that method of vindicating their conduct, we shall take a less violent and dangerous one, and show how the bank is *solvent*, how every note is a *real value*, and how it might, at any time, *pay all the notes off without any difficulty.*

A bank note formerly was a promise to pay in gold: it still purports to be such, though it certainly is no such thing; but by the way in which the bank is constituted, not a single note can be issued that has not a value deposited that insures payment to its amount.

Were the bank to be obliged to prove its solvency, it might do thus. There are twenty-two millions in circulation, and probably about three millions in

specie, the rest of the deposit consists in nineteen millions of securities, that will be paid in bank notes in two months*.

The bank would then only have to refuse to give any more discounts to merchants, or accommodation to government, and begin paying in specie till the three millions were gone. The three millions would be sufficient to pay demands as fast as the money could be counted for four weeks, during which four weeks eleven millions of notes would return, or come in as a matter of course, in order to pay the securities that would in that time fall due: at the end of four weeks there would be no more money; but then by that time fifteen millions would have been withdrawn from circulation, and there would only remain seven millions with the public. One of two things would then happen. Either the public would request the bank to issue more notes, other-

* The refusal of the bank to discount, unless another were to replace it, would make a revolution in the mercantile world. It is therefore supposing what could not, with the eyes of government open, take place; but that makes no difference to the reasoning here, as simply a demonstration of the solvency of the bank. That is a question abstracted from the effect it might or might not produce on the country.

wise trade could not go on; or the stoppage of issues would be continued, and in four weeks more, the whole of the seven millions would be withdrawn, and there would not remain one bank note in the hands of the public*.

This operation, which is very practicable, so far as the bank is concerned, would prove its solvency beyond all shadow of doubt; but the probable result of such a trial would be, that before the end of one week, the public would be convinced of its solvency, and find a necessity for calling on the bank to discount as usual.

It is true that a bank note is of no value intrinsically, in regard to the material it is made of; neither are the title deeds of an estate in themselves of value; but as they are the means by which the

* It is true, some of the government securities would not be taken up in that time; but what would be better for the bank would be, that the first day it refused to discount, it might sell exchequer bills and other securities for four or five millions, and as bank notes would be received in payment, that would be so much more retired from circulation, than we have calculated in the first four weeks.—It is one thing that makes it more blameable to ridicule the paper money, that as the bank receives nothing but its own paper, its paying in gold is impossible. When it received gold it paid the same.

possessor can get at a real value, they are themselves good, though not in intrinsic value.

One case may be supposed, indeed, which is, that those who had deposited securities would not pay those securities; but this is contrary to all probable, we may almost say, possible, chance, for the acceptances or securities are title deeds, by which the bank can come at the tangible property of the drawer, acceptor, and indorsers. Thus the notes of the bank are in reality securities on the goods in the shops and warehouses, and on all sorts of property throughout the kingdom.

How it happens that well-informed, and well-intentioned men could join in the exclamations about bank notes, that they were waste paper, and such like expressions, it is not very easy to conceive: but fortunate it is, that the impossibility of dispensing with those notes, added to the good sense, and general patriotism of the country, has supported their credit in defiance of all the ill-founded clamour that has existed.

These clamours have occasioned timid individuals to hoard guineas, and raised them to a premium which has held out a temptation to the interested to melt some down, and to send others out of the country; but thanks be to the directors, the govern-

ment, and the public at large, the danger was warded off when it was greatest, and it is now over.

A great advantage will come at last out of the forced circulation of paper, (for forced it was, though not by law, by necessity, which is stronger than law), gold will never be so much called for again for general circulation. In many cases notes are far more convenient, and they are much more safe, for by numbering them they can be traced, and robberies are now much less profitable, and consequently much less frequent.

Having given the bank directors the praise that to them is due*, it is but fair to give them also the

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* When the *Caisse D'Escompte* in France was finally closed, by Robespierre and Co. it had been established fourteen years, and had discounted about three hundred millions sterling, (4,000,000 at a time being in circulation). Mr. Paunchaud, who laid the plan, calculated it after the plan of the Bank of England, he having been a stock broker here, and knowing all the regulations. The principal rule was to have paper at two months, with three good names to it. Now that one solvent man will stop in two months is more than 200 to 1. That any two named shall stop is 200 × 200, and that three shall all stop is 200 × 200 × 200, or 8,000,000 to 1.

blame they deserve. It is their duty, and they ought to feel themselves bound in their consciences to prevent forgeries as much as possible by rendering their notes difficult to counterfeit. On this subject they have not used either intelligence or diligence, and every year many pitiable victims fall, at the same time that the public is defrauded of large sums. These are great evils in the sight of God and of man: they make humanity shudder, and ought to make the directors tremble in their bank parlour, as well as when they lay down to sleep in their splendid mansions.

The directors are the less excusable, that, since the restriction in 1797, their gain is immense. It is equal to half the revenue of the kingdom, at the time that the bank was established; and it is gain without trouble, and without risk*.

This is a very small risk. But the *Caisse D'Escompte* found it still less; for it only lost by bankrupties 72,000 livres, or three thousand pounds sterling. Lending on gold and diamonds is not so safe as this.

* On 22 millions the bank gets by 5 *per cent*..... £1,100,000
By management of national debt 300,000
By cash deposits, with which it may discount without increasing the notes in circulation 300,000
£1,700,000

But if the directors, who, in some respects will not in this do their duty, the government of the country should interfere, and compel them. Next to the directors, government is certainly to blame; and it is singular enough that as the revenues of kings from the earliest ages, consisted, in part, in the exclusive privilege of coining money, and as it is so still with regard to metallic money, that right should be abandoned entirely in this country; and that at the very time when it is of the greatest value as a source of revenue, and the most essential as a matter of regulation.

Not only is the coinage of paper money allowed (for coinage it is) to the bank of England, but there are about seven hundred mints dispersed through the kingdom, over which government has not any controul, even as to the security that the paper represents.

The bank of England we have proved to be

The notes lost are said to pay all expenses; but that can only be a guess, though it is very likely that they may amount to a large sum. The money lent to government at a low interest produces about £400,000,000, so that the whole revenues are two millions

secure, but that may or may not be the case with the country banks, where all depends on the responsibility and prudence of the parties. There was a period when this was an alarming situation, when, if an invasion had given a general alarm, the most part of the banks would have stopped; but this is fortunately over; the evil, however, still demands a remedy, and government will not do its duty if it does not interfere.

Every bank should be obliged to pay an annual licence in proportion to its circulation, and to give security likewise in proportion to it*; then the revenue would participate in the immense gain of circulating paper money, and the public would have security against the imprudence or the dishonesty of those bankers.

The failure of the paper money in America, and of the assignats of France, gave double credit to the complaints of those who spoke and wrote

* Suppose one *per cent.* as a tax on the issues, (to cease when the bank begins to pay in gold or silver), and suppose one-third of the amount of notes in circulation at a time, were given in security, then the nation and the bankers would be about right.

against bank of England notes; but all those who thus compared them were either ignorant of fact, or guilty of misrepresentation.

Assignats, and all the other notes issued by the French were given out without a value deposited. They served the purposes of revenue for the time. Whereas our bank notes never serve the purposes of revenue. They are sometimes advanced to government, on the security of revenue, but that is a totally different business*.

The assignats augmented in quantity for a long period, at the rate of more than a million sterling a-week. The paper of America augmented very rapidly also, but we see that the English paper does not augment.

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* It is curious enough that the same persons who have such fear about bank paper, are also those who trembled at the name of Buonaparte, and who thought that Lord Wellington and his brave army would be driven into the sea. It is more curious still that the same gentlemen boast of being a sort of political prophets.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LORD VISCOUNT MELVILLE.

THERE is a disadvantage as well as an advantage in being the son of a man of great abilities. There is an involuntary comparison always made between the talents of the father and the son, and seldom to the advantage of the son. Expectations too are excited generally to a degree that occasions disappointment, and under the feeling of that mortifying sensation, men judge too harshly and unfavourably.

The late Lord Melville, still better known to the world by the name of Henry Dundas, was, in point of talents as a man of business, of political wisdom and sagacity, of industry, and boldness of character; (and taken altogether), perhaps never had an equal in this country, or in almost any other. It was greatly to his industry, sagacity, and business-talents, that Mr. Pitt's administration owed its success; and well were his enemies aware

of this when a plan was laid for his destruction*; and with it fell Mr. Pitt and his ministry.

The world soon saw through the motives for persecuting that great minister, who was fully acquitted in the opinion of all; but it is not easy for

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* The public has long seen into the severity and injustice of the attack on the late Lord Melville, which in the moment of its delirious enthusiasm, parliament seemed willing to extend to all the ministers, on the declaration of Mr. Fox, that "it was a degraded administration."

Had Lord Melville wished to enrich himself, he might at any time previous to 1797, have pocketed £100,000 a year or more, without risk or trouble. Till then navy bills were not payable at any fixed period, and were often at from 15 to 20 *per cent.* discount; but as soon as it was known when they would be paid, they rose to par. As Lord M. knew before the public when this would be, he had but to order an agent (suppose Mr. Mark Sprot) to buy up a million at the discount, and there was £200,000 in a moment!

In place of this, a regulation was made to prevent such practices by any one else, (and the consequent loss to the public), by fixing the time of payment, at the time of issuing.

Lord Melville was the last man in the world to have played any under-hand trick for money, and the above fact about the navy bills proves it beyond the shadow of a doubt. It is in justice to the memory of a most able and zealous public servant, that this note is introduced in the political portrait of his son.

the son of such a man, bearing the same name, to obtain the reputation that in other circumstances would be his portion. Lord Melville has been high in office, at an early period of life, and except with regard to the inferiority of our naval force on the American coast, has constantly given general satisfaction.

With respect to the Americans, there are, however, a few observations to be made. It is well known that our naval officers are rather rough and uncourteous, and we have had several examples of their being much more likely to widen a breach, than to put an end to hostility. It was for this reason desirable not to have any superior force on the coast of America, till all hope of an amicable arrangement was over; and when men calculate on one of two contingencies, they must necessarily run a risk. So should we have judged of the unprepared state of our naval force on the American shore, had our efforts, after war was actually commenced, been such as England might have expected; but no such thing*. In the lakes, as on

* The inferiority of our navy is a consequence of the conduct of those who have been at the head of that department, who, like many others high in office in this country, are at considerable

the wide ocean, the Americans are victorious.—When things are so, a true Englishman, who

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pains to keep at a distance all those who have any improvements to propose. The following facts I state as from myself.

In 1794, I offered gratuitously to impart to the Lords of the admiralty, the means by which fast-sailing ships were built; that is, to explain why the French ships in general sail faster than the English. Sir John Sinclair conveyed the offer to them, and the answer was, that they had got, from the arsenal at Toulon, all the information they wanted.

I obtained, by accident, a description of the telegraph, when in Germany, at the time that there was no communication with France, and immediately set to work, composed an alphabet, and made two models, which worked and communicated across the street, at Frankfort on the Mayne. Lord Malmsbury's secretary, Mr. Ross, (who was lately Mr. Canning's private secretary), saw these telegraphs, which Major Ramsey, of the York Rangers, took with him to present to his Royal Highness the Duke of York. Immediately after the present heavy, expensive, and imperfect telegraph was contrived, and when I got a model made of one on a cheap plan, that could be raised to a much greater height, be seen from a greater distance, and not be so much affected by the colour of the clouds, the admiralty refused even to look at it, saying that they were satisfied with the telegraph they had.

The way of proceeding at the ordnance is nearly the same; and so long as it is, and we have enemies like the French and Americans, who give encouragement to every improvement, we must expect such a fate as we have lately met with in the American seas.

has it not in his power to act, can only call out, alas! alas!

England has, for a considerable period, excelled other nations in the mechanical arts, and in many branches of science, one of the consequences of which is, that, standing foremost on the list, the English consider themselves in want of no further improvement. Such a feeling usually prevails in all the nations that stand first; and such a feeling is one of the principal causes of the revolutions of nations: it makes a nation become stationary till those who were behind it get to be first. In the energy of the mind, or in its apathy, the exertions of men originate; and the energy or apathy are regulated by circumstances, and lay the foundation for perpetual changes. That moral propensities should counteract and regulate physical power and means, may appear strange, but nothing is more certain, nor are any operations more constant and perpetual than those that depend on this very controuling power of the moral over the physical world. So great are the advantages of wealth and power, that, were there not a counteracting principle, they would never be wrested from those in whose possession they once were; but so different is the case, that they are perpetually changing masters: the energy of those who want, triumphs over the advantages enjoyed by those who have property amongst individuals, and the same is the case amongst nations. To this is to be attributed the conduct of those who are at the head of the naval department, who, feeling that the British navy is superior to all others, have, in the words of the brave Admiral Duncan during the mutiny, exclaimed that "our cup has overflowed with abundance, and we have become wanton."

The whole blame, however, is not to be laid on Lord Melville; his colleagues do not throw it on

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It is this be com in wanton, despising the advantages we possess, and letting others get before us, that we have to dread, and if we have sense enough to profit by the humiliating lesson given us by America, we shall have reason to rejoice that she has given us such a lesson.

Perhaps one of the best modes of counteracting the natural progress of the mind in listening to propensities, is to be guided by maxims. The Romans combated the effects of luxury and greatness by adhering to maxims for a long period: at last they forgot the maxims; the virtuous republic became a voluptuous empire, and from a voluptuous nobility, the chiefs of that empire were soon reduced to the state of forlorn exiles, driven from their country, and forced to take refuge out of the reach of barbarians, whom they had despised.

Mr. Burke, one of the most profound inquirers in our days, observes, that he will not take upon him to say that states and empires have the same gradual rise, vigour, and decay, with the individuals of which they are composed; but that the history of mankind shews that they all have their periods of rise, exaltation, and decline. Now the case seems to be, that, with the individual, the progress is fixed by the ordinary term of human life; and though it may extend a little longer, or be cut off something shorter, its limits are nearly fixed by the physical nature of man; whereas, nations composed of individuals constantly renovating, are perpetual, as existences, but subject to rise, vigour, and decline, as to wealth, power, and pros-

him; and therefore it probably belongs to the cabinet ministers conjointly. If it were not so they would have said it, or at least they ought to have done so.

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perity: but this progress is lengthened or shortened, not as in individuals, by physical strength, but by the conduct and exertion of those persons of whom it is composed; and though there is a tendency, there seems to be no necessity for that decline that has hitherto always taken place, and transferred wealth and power from the borders of the Nile and the Euphrates, to the Tyber; from the Tyber to the Tagus, the Scheldt, and the Helder; and from thence to the Thames: a tendency to change which, if not counteracted, may make a further transfer of wealth and power, to the Chesapeak and Delaware, and, in time, to the uninhabited plains on the Ohio and the Mississippi. Such revolutions originate, then, not in any necessary order of things, but from men permitting their moral conduct to be influenced by their relative situations: and one of the first causes of decline is, when the rulers of a nation cease to value or reward talents and abilities. The second is, when the nations not yet risen so high, with far inferior means, begin to triumph over that which neglects to employ its means.

It is more than probable that this warning will share the fate of the prophecies of Cassandra; but let those who are capable of appreciating circumstances, reflect, and they will find, that the triumph of the Lilliputian navy of America over ours, is a serious occurrence, and ought to draw from us serious reflections.

One good will at all events arise from this unfortunate management: the friends of Britain that are in America, as well as the rest of the world, will see that Britain has none of that haughty pride that generally accompanies power; and that it has not any rancour towards the people of the United States of America.

LORD MILTON.

In the portrait of the noble father was given an anecdote of Lord Milton, from which his character is so well known, that it needs little more.

When a man of fortune has, at an early age, charity for the poor and wretched, and sufficient attention to stretch a point to relieve their wants, he must be a good man. With all the talents that a man can possess, if he has not a good heart, he can never be a good man, but he may, if artful, pass for one. There are also many men who are ostentatious in their acts of charity; such acts are suspicious: like true piety, true charity, though not

ashamed, is modest and secret. Neither is it careless, giving without taking notice what is given; for such charity, though worthy of praise, is accompanied with a feeling of pride. The charity that deserves to be most admired is, that which inquires into the distress of others, and relieves them with a due regard to circumstances, proceeding on the feeling for the person relieved, without any other feeling at the moment.

That a feeling of self-approbation must attend a good action is natural, indeed it cannot be otherwise, and that is the reward that attends such in this world.

Perhaps the wits of the world will call this prosing, (a very elegant, and a very significant sort of laconic expression for being serious), or perhaps they may say that it is like a methodist; and indeed it must be admitted, and lamented when so admitted, that such actions and feelings as are alluded to, are in general totally misplaced in the portrait of a young nobleman.

The present race of nobility are mightily improved (in appearance at least) since they assumed the manners of coachmen, and became the friends and companions of prize-fighters: and probably if they

are shut out from the continent for twenty years more, they will despise reading and writing*.

Lord Milton has made some good speeches in parliament, but he is on that side of politics that, according to the turn which things have taken, though he is yet a young man, he may arrive at a good old age before he will have much opportunity of displaying his talents as an efficient minister. This is a new era, in which there probably will be less political debate than there has hitherto been, because two or three great leading questions (stock pieces, in the theatrical phrase) have been laid to rest. Parliamentary reform is not likely to take place: the Roman Catholics of Ireland will not have every thing their own way: and the opposition will find less occupation than they have done since the accession of George I. to the British throne.

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* There was always a visible difference between those who had been in foreign countries, and those who had not. This did not arise from other countries being better than England, or the society so good; but it naturally leads a man to correct what is absurd, by comparing the variety of manners of which he is witness. All good and bad, great and small, are comparative.

LORD MINTO.

ALMOST the only political character now in office, who is of the *old* school, as it is termed; a man of strong natural abilities and tried integrity. He was long united with opposition, but when the French revolution broke out, he perceived that it was no longer the time to oppose himself to the government of his country.

His lordship was viceroy in Corsica during the short period that that island was united to Britain; and, in a very troublesome and difficult situation, he acquitted himself with great ability, and to the satisfaction of all with whom he had business to transact.

Since that period his lordship has been in India, and whatever may be the reason, certain it is, that during his power there, all hostilities, conquests, intrigues, and revolts, have been suspended. We cannot help thinking that his lordship has much merit in this, though we do not pretend to say absolutely, that he is the cause of it.

The British possessions in India have been in

some degree like the ocean, occasionally in a state of profound calm, and then again all at once agitated as in a violent storm. This looks as if the agitation proceeded rather from the restless ambition of the British governors, than from the resistance of the natives; but it would require a greater knowledge of the subject than we possess to determine that point; it is, however, highly to the honour of Lord Minto, that during his residence in India, there have been no oppressions, nor complaints of resistance*.

* Without doubt our possessions in India are held by the power of the sword, and not by any right. We cannot then expect the governors to be very scrupulous in regard to the natives; but we highly applaud those who tread lightly on the withered leaf.

M. M. DE MONTGAILLARD.

THE writer who is employed by Buonaparte to make a display of his plans for the benefit of mankind, and to try to deceive the world, is no insignificant political character; and therefore we have thought it necessary to give the portrait of M. de Montgaillard*.

This person, who holds a high situation under the minister at war in Paris, published a book intituled—The Situation of Great Britain in 1811. It appeared in England, a little time previous to the famous and fatal expedition of his master to

* Montgaillard has for several years been employed by Buonaparte to justify his usurpations, and to try to make those whom he perfidiously subdues, submit with some degree of patience to his galling yoke. The mode is, to prove that it is just and right, that Buonaparte is infallible, and that he and destiny march hand in hand. He is author of Remarks on the Restoration of the Kingdom of Italy; of the Right of the Crown of France to the Roman Empire, &c. &c. In short, if it were wanted to prove that Buonaparte should be the Emperor of the world, Montgaillard would *try* to prove his right.

Moscow. The intention of the writer is to prove that England is an enemy to the peace of mankind, and that therefore all mankind should combine against England. The inconsistencies into which the writer falls, and the absurdities which he utters, would be surprising in any man of talents, were he not in the service of Buonaparte. The practice of Buonaparte is precisely like that of a juggler at a country fair. He plays whatever tricks he pleases, and asserts whatever he thinks fit, and believes that all those who see and hear will give him implicit confidence*.

Our readers will see (and it is both curious and important to observe it) that the speeches in parliament for peace, the complaints about bank notes, and the want of specie, are in wonderful unison with the assertions and opinions of this writer. We shall therefore, (considering him as speaking the sentiments of his master), give some extracts from,

* Whether this proceeds from their impudence, and a contempt for mankind, or from vanity, want of taste, and want of recollection, is difficult to say; but never before were either such audacious or such contradictory assertions promulgated to insult mankind; and to their shame, so long as Buonaparte was successful, he had a number of advocates.

and then finish with a few observations on, his work, and on the writings and speeches of people amongst ourselves, who fight on the same side of the question.

The translator of the work observes in his preface —" The original volume was published at Paris, previous to the Moscow expedition. The exulting tone of defiance which it breathes, as well as various concomitant circumstances which daily transpire, fully demonstrate that it is one of those indirectly official, or authorized publications, which the French press has become remarkable for fulminating, previous to the developement of any important project or overture on the part of the ruler of that nation.

" It would seem that the arrival of the original copies of this work had been calculated upon as likely to take place about February or March, a period affording, (as was no doubt thought), peculiar opportunities for their introduction; and when, in addition to other important matters that might be expected to occupy the attention of the ministry, parliament would be engaged in the discussion of the subject of the scarcity of specie, and the asserted depreciation of bank notes!"

" It cannot be denied that the original volume

is the production of an acute and able writer; one who is evidently in the pay of Napoleon. It is, however, as evidently written with the palpable view of allaying the dissatisfaction of Napoleon's subjects, while its threats of the excommunication of this country is calculated to encourage the hopes of his tributaries and allies, and to effect the (to him) much more important object of disheartening the British people! In all these hopes he will assuredly fail; first, because his tyrannous career has excited a general disgust and horror, which is every where expressed in "murmurs not loud but deep;" secondly, because it is not in Britain, but in the territories of Napoleon and his allies, that "Pandora's box has been emptied even beyond hope!"

"While perusing this book, the reader will not fail to be struck with the reiteration of the cry for Peace! It is the Alpha and Omega of the author! It is no longer the wish for "ships, colonies, and commerce;" but it is the cry of "Peace, Peace! give us Peace or we die!!!" Are we to be dragooned into a peace without "indemnity for the past, and security for the future?"

That an enemy of this country should try, *per fas et nefas*, to ruin its resources by attacking its institutions, and to gain over its enemies by misrepre-

senting its conduct, is not to be wondered at, and is perhaps allowable; but we must blame and lament when we see men rich and respected amongst ourselves, fighting in the same cause, though, perhaps, with different intentions.

Messrs. Whitbread and Burdett, Lord King, and others, who, through a strong sense of patriotism, speak language nearly similar to the greatest enemy of England, must hesitate a little as to the wisdom of their conduct; for, though they may be conscious of rectitude of intention, they have reason to be doubtful of the prudence of those speeches which their bitterest enemy might have dictated, and certainly does approve of, as fraught with ruin to England.

Montgaillard says, "The changes which have in our age altered the whole face of Europe, ought to be attended with results equally honourable and fortunate to every nation; yet will they be incalculably disastrous to Great Britain, if the British ministry persist in violating the rights of those nations, and outraging their sovereignty. Such occurrences will render the degradation and disgrace of the political and commercial power of Great Britain inevitable, if its cabinet persist in the war of extermination which it has so ridiculously de-

clared against the commerce and navigation of all other countries!

" Nature has decreed that the French empire should be the centre of power and protection for all the nations of the continent: this political decree is fixed and immutable. Hence it will be evident that the momentary transfer of the sceptre of the ocean to the hands of England has been occasioned by circumstances radically false, corrupt, and unstable; and by these alone. Such adventitious circumstances on the one part, and the maritime tyranny of Great Britain on the other, have caused all the ravages, and engendered all the plagues, under which both the sovereigns and the people have groaned, down to the present hour.

" Every impartial man, of a correct understanding, whatever may be his country, profession, or political opinion, is forced to acknowledge in the conduct and will of the government of France, the fixed and liberal intention of giving freedom to the commerce and industry of the people of Europe; of protecting their sovereignty and their maritime independence, and of ensuring to them the honourable enjoyment of those commercial rights inherent in every crown. Such a man is likewise obliged to admit, that the intrigues, peculations, and cupidity of the English

ministry have been the cause of wars, of the overturning of governments, as well as of the fall and expatriation of several of the late sovereign families of Europe. Proceeding from error to error, from one disaster to another, as if infatuated by their unparalleled blindness or stupidity, the English ministers have arrived at the point of declaring, in the *delirium* of their tyrannical cupidity, that the people of every country ought to be the vassals of the British flag, the slaves of the commerce of Great Britain, the tributaries to its industry, and the victims of its polity."

"*It* is necessary to explain the naval power and the commercial riches of England, and to explode, in the face of all Europe, this phantom of prosperity which has deluded every government, which oppresses every people, and which might have enchained the universe by the most scandalous and rigid laws, if, amidst all the prodigies, and every kind of glory which can do honour to human nature, Providence, in its eternal justice, had not indicated to all nations the avenger of their rights, and the protector of their liberties—such, in short, might have been the result, if Providence had not granted to the French empire a statesman profound in his councils, a warrior invincible in the field, the

wisest administrator, and the greatest as he is the best of monarchs.

" Far be from us every idea of flattery, every sentiment of animosity or hatred! We seek not to revive ancient animosities between two nations which ought to honour and esteem each other with sincerity: on the contrary, may ancient enmities and jealousies be forced at last to yield to interests better understood, to the new political situation of things, and to that spirit of liberality, activity, and industry, which has spread itself over Europe. The observations which we are about to make are positive and incontestible; the facts which we shall re-produce are as true at London as at Paris; at St. Petersburgh as at Vienna and Naples: they are founded on official declarations, announced in the two houses of the British parliament, on the accounts given in by Lord North, at the end of his administration; on the speeches delivered by William Pitt and Edmund Burke, as well as by the first statesmen in England; and on the writings of those journalists whose opinions are looked up to in that country.

" Hence, by laying open the real situation of England, we are desirous of making known to Europe the faults, the haughtiness, and the absurd

tyranny of the ministers who govern those three united kingdoms. In the present financial, political, and commercial *exposé*, our only object is to remove, if possible, the film which obscures the sight of the people of England, and thus to prevent the sanguinary catastrophe which threatens them. The general interests of nations, the peace of the continent, the prosperity even of England herself, encourage and direct us in our present labours: thus inspired we obey the call, and expose the infamous policy of those ministers of war, who have so long, with deplorable and scandalous impunity, provoked the indignation of all true friends of their country, of all subjects faithful to their sovereigns, and of all men who are anxious for the prosperity and independence of their country!"

"Holland ought to view the honourable incorporation of her provinces with the French empire as a great benefit granted to her industry and commerce. When the liberty of the seas shall have been regulated, in the name of all the nations of Europe, the departments of Holland will be able to judge of the importance, commercial as well as political, which they have acquired by their incorporation with the empire. That period is not far

distant, and all the measures adopted by the emperor Napoleon tend to accelerate it.

" Every nation whose commerce is not founded in a great degree on the principle of the exchange of its natural productions, must experience a similar fall or fate. At present England gains more from herself than from the other nations, and it is the state which is lost by the excess of her commerce. The following expositions will incontestibly prove this truth. The prodigious extent of the British commerce, and the formidable amount of its naval force, prevent, in some degree, the belief which the public would otherwise have in this fact; but nothing can more clearly demonstrate how much the riches produced by British commerce are false and illusory to the state, than the advantages granted in all the acts of parliament that relate to exportation. In proportion as commerce extends its progress, or rather, its ravages, in England, the government sees itself forced to insult and despoil the ships of all nations. By a sequel of that spirit of monopoly which directs the councils of England, that government is under the necessity of laying all the nations of the globe under a contribution in favour of British goods, or compelling them to

take such goods for their own consumption; a contribution as dishonourable as onerous to them. In short, the British ministry have arrived at the pitch of resembling a robber, who offers with a pistol in his hand, merchandize to sell at the price which his cupidity and embarrassment cause him to demand. Thus we see why England has not, nor ever can have sincere and constant allies. She has deserted the great social family, and the rights of mankind, while deceit, ambition, and violence constitute the public law of her ministers. The mass of injustice and depredations committed by their orders is scarcely credible; and this, (shall we say it) is the inevitable effect of the prodigious and immoderate extent of the commercial power of Great Britain. This false prosperity, this policy at once capricious and violent, is daily digging for the country an abyss of calamities. The obstinate and ignorant conduct of the present administration, tends still further to accelerate the ruin of the state; for though powerful fleets may give, during a time, possession of the empire of the seas, never will they be able to obtain the empire of commerce! Markets are necessary for the sale of goods, and these markets are on the continent of Europe: the preponderating power on the continent will therefore

always be, after the strictest scrutiny, the mistress of commerce."

Again he says, "Without, however, going into particulars which do not belong to the object of this essay, it may be observed, that the estimates of the expenditures for the navy and army alone ought to terrify, not the government, because it manufactures paper-money, and obtains loans according to its pleasure, but the British people, who must finally pay for all this obstinate dilapidation, those hostile fooleries, and the political rage of the ministers; for the new system of power established in Europe, and founded on a hundred victories, the *results of which cannot be altered by any human occurrence;* the Napoleon system, which is that of the continent, will always prevent England from diminishing her naval and military force; unless the ministers ultimately consent to the preservation of all the British interests, by listening to the voice of peace, and restoring to neutral powers, and maritime nations, all the rights of which the English nation has violently and unjustly deprived them."

Thus the French writer proves to his own satisfaction that Britain must be ruined, and asserts (we know not on what authority) that nature has decreed that France should be the centre of power and

protection of all the nations on the continent. This political decree, he says, is fixed and immutable; but what is still more pleasant than all is, where he tells us that England herself is interested in these immutable decrees; but we are not any of those liberal-minded people of whom he speaks, who must admire the conduct of France. We beg to be excused, and we declare that his conduct is suspicious, when he says he has no animosity, or any idea of flattery: to us it appears as if he did flatter Napoleon very grossly, and insult England very grossly also; but when he (the accurate reasoner) says that he does not mean to revive animosities, we must tell him he speaks complete nonsense, for what exists cannot be revived; now the whole book complains of existing animosities.

The Dutch have since shown how far they viewed advantageously the arrangements of Napoleon the Great, the result of whose system cannot, says this parasite, be altered by any human occurrence.—Such language, now that we find the great Napoleon foiled in every great project, and complaining that the world is against him, looks more like the language of fools or madmen, than of a writer of some merit. But we must not forget that so long as

villany was successful, it had many advocates. neither must we forget that those who attacked the policy of Mr. Pitt and his followers have always talked, in the main, nearly to the same purpose.

After endeavouring to prove, like our patriots at home, "that the national debt, and high taxes, must ruin England"—"that indeed England is already ruined," our great politician quotes, again and again, Lord Bolinbroke, who made precisely the same complaints of ruin, from debt and taxes, nearly one hundred years ago!!

With great candour, or ignorance, we know not which, Montgaillard gives funded *millions* for real millions, in stating the amount of our debt; and he passes over the great sums reimbursed by the sinking fund.

The bank is next attacked, and nearly every statement relative to it is false; and as to the reasoning founded on the statements, it has not even common sense to support it. Under the portrait of Mr. Mellish we have shortly, but fully, proved the solidity of the bank, and therefore may be dispensed from going through his absurdities: but the following chosen morsels appear worth preserving, as specimens of what French arrogance and impudence could produce, in the hour of success; and not

forgetting that the same people are yet formidable, and that they were listened to by a great number of those who ought to have known better.

" The ministers withhold, as much as they can, the exposure of the arrears of supplies and expenses. They never state with accuracy, the net produce of the extraordinary taxes; and they dip into the *sinking fund* even without possessing any authority to do so. In the American war, £28,000,000 were taken from that fund; and the inquiry occasioned by Lord Shelburne proved, that ministers had disposed of this large sum, without the sanction of parliament. But generally it authorizes them to take this liberty when required by the urgent necessities of war. Under the administrations of Walpole and Pitt, similar malversations, commutations of debt, and the purloining of handfuls of exchequer bills, have been exposed several times, but always without any effect."

" In reality, the political fortune of the British monarchy is founded on the loan and banking systems—a system and establishment which are themselves founded on the industry and commerce of Great Britain. The bank has hitherto been the real pillar of the state; commerce supports the bank, and both bank and state are one and the same thing.

The bank makes a figure nominally, and not really, if we may be allowed the phrase, as a creditor of the state. We shall not have the presumption to attempt to guess to what amount the bank has become the creditor of the state; for authentic documents on this head are not to be obtained. Besides, such an investigation would be useless, since the bank is really, at the present time, the broker, the agent of exchange, of commercial intercourse, and the instrument of the state. It therefore unavoidably happens, from the present banking and financial system in England, that the taxes, the revenues, the industry, the soil, the manufactures, and the commerce of the united kingdom are mortgaged to the creditors. The national debt, and the issuing of bank notes, have put all the private fortunes of the united kingdom into the hands of the government. If there could be the least doubt of this fact, even in the mind of the most unthinking man, after what has here been said, it will only be necessary for him to give a glance at the war taxes, and the tax on income, to be convinced that such are the effects produced in Great Britain by the double system of national debt and paper money."

" In fact, the bank is a commercial and financial

company, whose paper passes in Britain for money. The exchequer and navy bills, and similar securities, also pass amongst the public. There are besides, to be seen in circulation, India and South Sea bonds, &c. The value of these is immense, but the total amount is a very great mystery. The notes of the banks of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, &c. are likewise thrown into general circulation; and besides all these, the notes of private bankers pass amongst the public like so much ready money: one cause of all this circulation is, that in London no person keeps in his own house any more money than is necessary for his current expenses: but every man deposits his stock with his banker."

"In short, Great Britain is, in the real sense of the word, a kingdom of paper, where three-fourths of the public property are dependant on the profits of a monopoly burthensome to Europe, and where the national debts, of one kind or other, absorb the whole of the territorial and funded revenue."

"If, in the war of extermination which England has so madly instituted and kept up against France, several kings, several sovereigns have lost their whole territories, or a part of their provinces, it is not to France that they ought to impute these disasters; the deposed sovereigns ought to accuse

England, and England alone, of being the author of all their losses and misfortunes. England is, indeed, responsible to posterity for all the blood which has been shed during these twenty years. But at present it is in the power of all the cabinets of the continent to secure for themselves repose and prosperity, by seconding, with a good-will, and with energy, the efforts which the Emperor Napoleon is making, to compel England to give peace to the world, and to restore to all maritime nations the independence and the honour of their flags."

" Events will speedily show, that the continent of the two Americas cannot afford to British manufactures a market sufficient for their disposal: besides, the manufactures of Europe having been forcibly introduced, will soon be established, and as it were naturalized in North and South America; nay, finally, it is only necessary for a general and absolute interdiction to take place on the European continent, against all British merchandises, in order to compel the cabinet of London to make all proper restitution, and to enter into every sort of security, which the liberty and maritime prosperity of the people of other countries may require. In short, this cabinet has no longer the means of

preserving Great Britain from national bankruptcy, and total ruin, but by giving a speedy peace to the world."

" In reality, the maritime power of England must be viewed as an accidental force, which the cabinet of the Thuilleries will have at any time the power of modifying, and restraining within limits congenial with the interests of the French people; and we will even presume to say, agreeably to the interests of the British people!"

" The grand error of the English, that which is the cause of all the political blunders of their government, and which perpetuates its blindness is, that they can neither make allowance for the times, nor for the greatness of the French empire. The emperor Napoleon is not a mere King of France; he is the invincible child of victory, and with his power has begun the real race of the Cæsars; that which will never end; that which will never have an *Augustulus* nor a *Louis le Debonnaire;* that which will direct the fate of the world for a long series of ages."

" But the hostile and political revolution on the continent is irrevocably finished and consummated. The eighteenth of Brumaire is over in Europe! The French empire guarantees the destinies and

the peace of nations; the Napoleon dynasty is seated on immutable bases. The interest of all people, the honour and existence of all sovereigns, depend on the solidity of this glorious political system, on the immutability of this fortunate order of things."

"The docks of Amsterdam and Antwerp; of Brest, Rochefort, and Toulon; of Ferrol, Lisbon, Cadiz, Carthagena, Genoa, Naples, Venice, Porto-Rico, &c. will in a few months be filled with ships, at the voice of the emperor of the French. The squadrons which will issue from those ports will, by covering all the open seas of Europe, protect all people, and soon display their flags in the seas of America and India. On the day when the French flag shall appear in India, and join the Mahrattas, the British power will be destroyed! Great Britain is utterly unable to prevent or check this naval creation of France, or oppose its progress in a constant and victorious manner. The British ministry may, indeed, prevent for some time longer the maritime liberation of Europe; but its utmost incendiary violence cannot impede a developement of the forces which will result from the nature of events, and the system so happily and powerfully established on the continent. England can no

longer stop the progress of the naval power of the French empire."

" Mr. Perceval considers the imperial decrees as if they were temporary measures, of which it will be easy to elude the rigour; he views the commercial relations of England with the continent as being only interrupted; he does not consider them as irrevocably broken off! He hopes that a great quantity of British goods will find the means of getting on to the continent; he fully believes, like his predecessors, that he has to deal with an ordinary French king; he does not see that Napoleon is not a French king, but the emperor and the child of victory: he does not even dream that the Emperor Napoleon has pronounced an absolute interdiction against the colonial produce and the manufactures of Great Britain, and that the political system of the Thuilleries is as fixed and immutable as the power and glory of its sovereign!"

At last comes the grand consolation to Lord King, and those patriots who strike Britain like friends, on the same side that its enemy strikes in order to destroy.

" The chancellor of the exchequer said, that he was very far from wishing to propose the measure which forms the bill of Lord Stanhope, because he

had flattered himself that Lord King would have abandoned his fatal project of refusing bank notes in payment; but that he had changed his mind as to the necessity of this bill, when he saw a certain number of persons of great weight, and who aspired to the exclusive possession of all the patriotic virtues, all the talents, and all the knowledge of the statesman, approving, supporting, and even publicly applauding the dangerous plan which had given rise to this bill; an example which many other individuals might be induced to follow, and thus throw the government and the country into the greatest confusion. We give the prime minister's own words, because they perfectly express the very great embarrassments of the nation and the state; because they discover, besides, the equally great embarrassment of the genius of Mr. Perceval."

We have given those extracts from a sort of private manifesto of Buonaparte, to show not only his manner of reasoning, but the great similarity between it, and those men in this country to whom the writer alludes: men of great weight; men aspiring to all the talents, &c. who the writer boasts approved of Lord King's bill. Happy, happy lord, to have the praises of Buonaparte!

The last declaration in this imperial book is copied from the speeches of opposition in a mass, it is this—

"There only remains one mode of salvation; and this is, to reduce expenses of every kind to a just proportion with the wealth and the resources of the united kingdom; to acknowledge a maritime code of laws that may be conformable to the independence and the rights of all nations; and thus to open to the commerce of Britain, the ports and markets of the continent of Europe. In a word, it is only by peace, and by the measures of a wise and enlightened administration, one that is awake to the real interests of the nation, and proud of the honour of saving its country, that the British people can yet avoid the misfortunes, the revolutions, and the calamities of every kind, which at this time threaten Great Britain with total subversion."

Who, after these extracts, will dispute what has been said in those portraits, that the system adopted by Mr. Pitt, and persevered in by Mr. Perceval, and the present ministers, was the system that Buonaparte dreaded most of all things; and that, on the other hand, to withdraw from the continent,

seek safety in economy, and offer peace, was his greatest wish?

If Buonaparte is but half as great a statesman as the opposition orators describe him to be, we must suppose he had some reason for this ardent wish for a change in our politics; and it is not saying too much to advise British statesmen to beware of what comes as advice from an able enemy.

This very production of Montgaillard ought to put us on our guard against those who call out for peace and a change of system in regard to the continent of Europe*.

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* Montgaillard was so delighted with his work, that a few months after it was written he added a postscript, in which he says, "It is all over with Great Britain; its splendour is extinct."

Lord King is the modern *Eratostratus!* He is the man who has set fire to the temple of Ephesus; and "ministers have rendered its destruction complete. Surely *my Lord Eratostratus* is highly obliged to this Frenchman, who gives him the credit of ruining his country. But luckily the Gallic scribe did not know that the Earl of Stanhope, one of the most ingenious and inventive men the world has produced, (and who stands always forward to protect his country, though he does not always agree with ministers), had long ago invented a means of extinguishing fire; and on this occasion he not only saved the temple, but secured it from future danger.

The complete change of affairs that has been effected in Europe by the imprudence and audacity of Buonaparte, and the readiness with which his protected nations flew from his iron gripe, explains pretty well, that part of the business; and his own fall shews whether or not he has been "*indicated to all nations by Providence, as the avenger of their rights, and the protector of their liberties.*"

The contradictions of those flatterers of Buonaparte are difficult to conceive; for after saying that it was all over with Great Britain, he finishes by adding, that nothing can prevent the ruin of British power, but one thing, that is, *peace.*

Montgaillard avails himself, throughout, of the speeches of the opposition members, evidently thinking that their advice would ruin this nation, and that this nation was inclined to take their advice: if therefore any thing has been said in these portraits that tends to insinuate that opposition were unintentionally forwarding the views of France, Montgaillard's book will be our justification; for he even goes the length of recommending to us a reform in parliament, as one of the ways to save a country that he says is already ruined.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL OF MOIRA.

If there is any man, of any rank, in any country, who runs a risk of falling under the *Bible woe**, the Earl of Moira is that man.

There are many persons, who, by their apathy, by standing aloof, or merely by care and prudence, by what is termed worldly wisdom, avoid any great errors†. Of such persons little that is bad can be said; for, as nothing can come of nothing, little can never produce much, and the good and bad are both

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* The *Bible woe.* "Woe unto ye when all speak well of you."

† We could give a list of such unblemished characters, quite as long as Buonaparte's legion of honour; but that would be as useless as to give an account of the features of a flock of sheep. It would not be more entertaining or instructive, though it would be infinitely offensive; for those correct men would rise up in wrath like the troubled ocean. To accuse a man of a crime is sometimes forgiven, but of insignificance never.

capable of being contained in a nutshell: an Irishman would say in an empty nutshell perhaps; but to speak more correctly, as becomes an author, in a nutshell that would not then be full.

The noble earl, from his first entrance into public life, has been extremely active; and never looked on an indifferent spectator, when propriety admitted, or duty demanded his interference. The most humane heart, guided by the most strict, and even punctilious honour; generosity even almost to a fault; and the most unbending attachment to principle; are the leading features of his character. It is impossible to mistake the likeness; the features are all so marked, and they are so polished and rounded by a refined affability, tempered with dignity, and corrected by taste and propriety, that, as it cannot be matched, the portrait must stand alone. In any one good quality, we can find his equal, but in all we find not one. He is to be compared to the Venus of Apelles, if we may be permitted to resemble moral excellence to personal beauty*.

* The manner in which the Grecian painter formed his Venus is well known; and the amiable Countess of Loudon and Moira will

Having said so much, we must with equal truth and frankness observe, that his lordship wants that vigour of character which men of conduct less correct often possess. He is too anxious to avoid error, to venture to do good, when that good is in any way doubtful; and by that means he is not of the service to his country that, with his talents and intentions, he might, and probably would otherwise be. Bold to excess when he risks his own person, his anxiety for his friends borders on pusilanimity: heedless of personal danger, he is scrupulously careful with regard to propriety: with regard to his honour, and that of his friends, he acts on a principle approaching to cowardice, afraid even of suspicion: with regard to physical danger he is above all fear; but though this arises from the most praise-worthy feeling, and must command admiration, if carried to excess is a defect. It is

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understand the compliment paid by Allan Ramsey, to one of her fair countrywomen:

" To form a Venus, auld Apelles
" Wall'd a' the bonny maids of Greece;
" Ye need nae maer but paint yoursell lass,
" To spoil the limner and his piece."

a defect in his Lordship's character; for true manliness and honour require no more than to mean well, and act for the best, taking the consequences whether they are good or bad. This his lordship does not do; and with the highest respect for him, we say, with regret, that it is a serious evil to his country.

The Prince Regent, from an early period of life, has granted his confidence to Lord Moira, and certainly never did a prince make choice of a more honourable friend. The connection has been honourable to both, for the goodness of the heart of the prince is perhaps not inferior to that of his friend; but something more than barren friendship is now expected of his lordship.

In the portrait of the prince we have said that Carlton-house was baricadoed against advice, against memorial, against complaint, and against statement of grievances, such as belong to a sovereign personally to hear. To such a friend as Lord Moira it belonged to batter down the barrier, and serve his prince, his friend, and his country. We say to Lord Moira, because, though the prince may have friends equally sincere, yet he has none of a character equally disinterested; and it is from independence

of character alone that advice can come without any alloy or suspicion; without danger of giving offence, or fear of not being listened to.

What a glorious opportunity his lordship has already lost. What contemptible intrigues he has been compelled to witness, not without personal inconvenience to himself; for the late transaction about the forming an administration would have brought suspicion on almost any other man in the kingdom but Lord Moira.

Where men act from little, selfish, and ill-judged motives, as Lords Grey and Grenville then did; and when court intrigue, and a little mystery and concealment are added, it becomes impossible to comprehend the business; and consequently it is impossible to form any decided opinion*, further than we

* This is the second intrigue within these six years, in which Lords Grey and Grenville have been engaged, and in which they contrived so to involve circumstances in intricacy and doubt, that there is no forming an opinion but from the characters of those engaged. These two noble lords ventured to accuse his majesty of something like deceit, and they would have us believe that Earl Moira was not quite free from duplicity. It is rather, indeed, unfortunate, that those noble lords hazarded their veracity against the

are guided by the general character of the business, and of those concerned.

If Lord Moira had some trouble on this occasion, it was but what he deserved. He knows how the Prince Regent might have risen superior to all such intrigues, by depending on the love of his people, and imitating the immortal Elizabeth, whose character grows brighter with time, and will continue

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two characters in the kingdom the least liable to suspicion; for notwithstanding the premature, the rash, and harsh assertion of Junius, there is not, on earth, a man less to be suspected of uttering a falsity than his present majesty. Let not the admirers of the unknown hero of the pen be offended—a small pebble thrown into a smooth pool troubles the water; as a rose leaf, doubled on his couch broke the sleep of the effeminate Sybarite; and the well-turned forcible periods of Junius, in the times of tranquillity, made the gazing politicians stare. *Dans le royaume des avangles le borgnes sont roi;* and thus Junius. The revolution of Corsica, the petty affair of Minorca, and the large twelfth cake sent to John Wilkes, divided public attention at the time; but let him write now, when Buonaparte strides over kingdoms like another dragon of Wantly, and we should see whether his bitter Phillippics would be attended to. Junius was a writer who would at any time have been admired, but his letters in the present times would have been only the talk of a day, or perhaps of an hour.

to shine, so long as remembrance borrows Banquo's glass.

This is no time to speak of household troops, and of lords with white staves, standing between a kingdom and its fate; and even the most ignorant mechanic looks with contempt on such proceedings, from which it belonged to the Earl of Moira to have protected an indignant nation.

Neither the praise bestowed on Lord Moira, nor the blame imputed to him are voluntary: truth extorts the blame, and the praise is a duty: but we are sorry to see that a man who so much resembles, in his course, the *panache blanc* of the immortal Henry of France, is about to be removed to a distance from the prince, at this time; for we are not without hope that even these observations might produce an effect. If they occasion his lordship to reflect on what it is in his power, and what it is his duty to do, that is all that is necessary. His head and his heart will direct him what is proper to be done.

The appointment of the Earl of Moira to a high situation in India gave as much pleasure in Leadenhall-street, as the rumour of Lord Lauderdale's nomination inspired terror some years ago;

and we sincerely hope that his lordship will be at the trouble to consider seriously on the nature of the task he has undertaken, and mix something of the dashing and determined character of a Wellesley with his own.

His lordship is going to govern provinces far more populous and extensive than Great Britain; of which we have obtained possession, partly by fraud, and partly by force, without a single particle of right, or a shadow of justice. On such a promontory, honour and humanity must either gather laurels, or suffer shipwreck; and in this (to him) perilous enterprise, we give our best of wishes to one of the best of men*.

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* Lord Moira certainly saved his country and the prince by objecting to the preliminary condition insisted on by Lords Grey and Grenville; but had his lordship advised the prince properly, when he first came to power, that situation of things would never have existed. The popularity of the prince would have driven Grey and Grenville to an awful distance.

COUNT DE METTERNICH.

One of the ministers of the emperor of Germany, who has shewn the greatest fidelity to his master, and the truest knowledge of the interests of Europe, and of the house of Austria.

Long has he, aided by the Prince de Stahremburg, laboured to bring about the state of things that now is happily effected; but the French revolution was like a great conflagration. In the first part of its progress, as well as when in its greatest force, all attempts either to resist or extinguish it were unavailing; but the period at last arrived when it was possible to make an effectual effort; and M. de Metternich has acted with a wisdom, energy, and good intention, that are beyond all praise. He is one of the most able politicians in Europe, and much will be dependent on him in the new order that is probably about to be established.

Austria is one of the greatest, and most centrical powers of Europe: it is naturally the counterpoise to France on the continent; but, owing to the jealousy of Prussia, and the hatred of Bavaria, that counter-

poise was lost, and the misfortunes of Europe were more easily accomplished. Extreme of oppression and misery having made all the continental powers of Europe take up arms against France, a new order of things will probably be established; for it is impossible to place matters entirely on their ancient footing; and the house of Austria will naturally have a very important part to act in that new order of things, which must no doubt be arranged by the different powers, and fixed upon the most solid basis that can be contrived; as Europe has been exhausted by this last terrible and serious war, and has, for centuries, experienced the mischief arising from those lesser contests amongst nations that only served to impoverish the greater, and aggrandize the smaller states.

In speaking of the former state of the balance of power, as established in Europe, the following observations have been made*.

"The old balance of power in Europe was a political combination, established for the wisest of purposes, but without any regular plan. It was established nearly in the manner that old irregular cities were built.

* See Playfair's Balance of Power.

"Particular circumstances, connected with private views, and those sometimes governed by accident or intrigue, at other times by caprice; but never by a regular plan or system, guided those who arranged the balance of power that was to preserve peace, and to protect the weaker against the stronger powers.

"The natural result of such operating causes was an ill-assorted combination, a fabric of feebleness, anomoly, and confusion, in which there was nothing solid or permanent. The consequences were perpetual misunderstandings and intrigues, terminating in wars and bloodshed at short intervals, from which arose new, but still as ephemeral alliances.

"As the ancient balance resembled an old irregular city, so may the French revolution (which by degrees extended so as to be termed the revolution of Europe) be considered as a great conflagration, which has reduced to ashes that city which was so ill and irregularly built; and the business is now to lay the foundation of a new city, on an improved plan; to establish a balance of power in which mutual interests and wants will be duly considered, of which the peace of mankind is the object, and permanence will be the consequence.

"We are to begin as on a *tabula rasa*, not forgetting either those moral or physical circumstances which have operated in producing former misfortunes.

"Enough of evil has arisen to the present race of men from the revolution, to induce every attempt towards preventing a recurrence of similar misfortunes; and whilst it is admitted, in the fullest manner, that France should have a very great and powerful influence in Europe, it must also be considered, that, with the ambition and energies of the people, and her ancient boundaries, she possessed that great and powerful influence; and that, by means of it, she has caused more bloodshed and misery than there is any example of in history: but she has also, at last, roused a brave continental power that is not to be overcome or beat down; and very fortunately Russia, that great and brave nation, is not a rival, but a natural ally of Britain, which power alone has from the beginning resisted the despotism of France.

"Let, then, Russia and England unite to form the basis of a new balance of power, upon the plan of which we have been speaking; such as will be founded on mutual interest, so that it will not dissolve of itself; and so strong, that it cannot be

dissolved or destroyed by any one nation again, as has been unfortunately the case with that order of things which was overturned by the French: first, by pretending to give mankind freedom; and latterly, by exercising the most unheard-of despotism, and military yoke, in which individual happiness, and the dignity and independence of all nations was sacrificed to a single despot, who had seated himself on the throne of France."

The same author proceeds to say—

"First. The balance to be established should be one of solidity, not of vacillation; that is to say, the weight in one scale should fairly weigh down that in the other, and rest firm; it should not be a vibrating balance, as formerly, one which every breath of wind set in motion.

"Secondly. The preponderating weight should be on the side of those nations who gain by peace and tranquillity, and who can have nothing beneficial to expect from war and conquest.

"Thirdly. There may be various opinions about the views of different nations, but it can never be doubted that the French aim, and have long aimed, at universal monarchy; and the history of Europe is full of their ambitious projects: but if it were only the last twenty years that we had to appeal to,

it would be enough. France has put every nation in Europe to immense expense, both in blood and treasure. Never did any madman (not even Don Quixote himself) form such wild and visionary schemes, to the danger and detriment of all around.

"Justice permits, and wisdom demands, that measures should be taken to prevent a repetition of such disorders, and this is the more to be considered that the great vanity and self-sufficiency of the French prevent them from seeing the mischief they have done in its true light, or, how hateful and contemptible they have been; for they still talk as if they were the friends of mankind, and more injured than injuring; more entitled to complain, than deserving to be complained of. There is therefore no guarantee in the French nation itself, against a repetition of the disorders: that security, therefore, must come from without. It is not to be obtained by an internal application; and must therefore be obtained by an external one."

When this was written, just after the reverses of the French in Russia, Austria had not the appearance of joining the allies, and the most that was expected, was her neutrality; but now the business will be much more easy, the great end being to

secure the peace of Europe, by keeping France from again overrunning her neighbours, and the re-establishment of the German empire in its integrity; whilst the princes will feel that their union, and respect for the chief supreme of the empire, is for the benefit of all. It was in a great measure owing to the want of this feeling, that France was enabled to form the confederation of the Rhine, which would have entirely destroyed the possibility of establishing any thing like a balance of power. The emperor now rising up in a manner worthy of the chief of the German states and the descendant of Maria Theresa, will enable that to be done in a much more solid manner than could have been hoped for ten months ago. France might have perhaps been weakened and humiliated, but still there would have been a great political vacuum in Europe, which must have been filled up, and which could not have been done so well by any new order of things, as by the re-establishment of the German empire.

SIR EVAN NEPEAN, BART.

GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY.

SIR EVAN, for a great number of years, was secretary to the admiralty, and that at the most important period this country ever saw in regard to naval affairs.

At the beginning of this war the French fleets were very powerful, and ours were all nearly laid up in ordinary; but Mr. Nepean remained there till our superiority at sea was established in a manner it never had before been.

Even Lord Chatham, with all his indolence, could not make our naval affairs go wrong, when Mr. Nepean was there; but it was when he had Earl Spencer at the head of the board, that the great achievements were performed.

Never were two men better fitted to act together than Earl Spencer and Mr. Nepean. Industry, abilities, and the most constant attention, were never before carried so far in that department, and never were they crowned with more success.

Sir Evan Nepean is now gone to India governor of Bombay, a situation of much less real importance, and where his abilities will be comparatively of little value to his country. He is one of those excellent characters who do their duty without noise, or making their own private ambition, or private interest, run in a direction contrary to the duty they owe to their country.

Every one who has attended to political affairs, must have remarked the great difference that there is between those men whose names are continually resounding in the public ear, and others who, without making the least noise, do their business admirably well.

We could name some men, and not a few, who make a noise, as they proceed, that constantly excites public attention; and we could name others who, without any bustle, do a great deal more real service. But such a list would be invidious; and therefore we have only to say, that Sir Evan Nepean belongs to the latter class; and that wherever he rules, matters will be well managed.

DUKE OF NORFOLK.

A NOBLEMAN of solid judgment. The first in rank after the royal family, and in possession of a great fortune. Having no family to maintain, knowing the world well, and not being given to expensive pleasures, he might be expected to patronise the arts, or genius, or merit, or to relieve the indigent: but except some occasional attention to agriculture, and his being the president of that excellent institution, the Society for the encouragement of Arts and Sciences, in the Adelphi, the public knows nothing of his exertions in favour of merit of any sort*.

* When the best friends of the aristocracy of the country, of the nobility, and great land-holders, see the chief men of the kingdom receiving great sums, half of which they cannot use, and perhaps the greatest part of what they do expend laid out on some old gothic

Except some speeches in parliament, which appeared to have come from some honest farmer, who was afflicted with the jaundice, and who now and then attended to the affairs of his country, we see no public spirit in this chief of the British nobility.

To those who remember the ardour of the Earl of Surry at a county election, about thirty years ago, this seems strange; it being taken into the account that patriotism was then a matter of amusement: but that now, to assist the country is what ought to be nearest the heart of every good, and particularly of every rich man, and more so, of the first nobleman in the nation; it is impossible to see the carelessness and apathy of such men at this crisis, without astonishment.

One would excuse misers, governed by invincible, though absurd propensities, for keeping every

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castle, to be gazed at once a-year, and left to rot and ruin the rest of the time, it is natural to become indifferent to the fate of such men. If the Howards should be sent to keep company with the descendants of the great families of France, it may naturally be asked—What will be the mighty injury to mankind?

shilling they could in their own pockets; but the noble duke is no miser, though he acts as if, according to his code of morality, it would be a crime to *give away* a guinea*.

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* When we hear of a poor starving madman perpetually interrupting the Lord Chancellor, and pretending to be the true heir to the honours and estates of Norfolk, we cannot help pitying the man, and asking—Whether, if the man is not altogether an impostor, and not even a bastard, (with Howard blood in his veins), it would not be humane and well at least to put him in the way to share with some of the fat dogs in his grace's kitchen: twenty-five guineas a-year would probably keep the poor wretch from despair: but of the crumbs which fall from the rich man's table, Lazarus is not to have a share.

DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

His grace was in his youth a brave soldier, and through life has been an excellent private character, and supports opposition politics with a moderation that does him credit; as few men of great power, wealth, and influence, who have embraced that line of policy, have been able to adhere to a moderate line of conduct: he has never taken an active part. He seems never to have had any view to the cabinet, and it is now too late for the field*.

We believe few of the old English nobility keep up the dignity and hospitality of former times so well as the house of Percy, and in this there is more merit, more advantage, and more real satisfaction, than in those political London dinners, where

* During the American war, Earl Percy, then a young man, was a prominent character, and would have gathered laurels, if there had been any growing for English officers: but what with a bad cause, a Washington for an enemy, General Howe for a commander, and a strong opposition at home, success was impossible.

the servants are starving on board wages in the hall, and the guests at table striving to outwit each other, and to pillage their country.

His grace raised, at a great expense, a very fine volunteer regiment, consisting entirely of his own tenants and their sons. He is a friend to his country, without ostentation; and a true patriot of the old school, uncontaminated by modern philosophy, or led away by imaginary plans of perfection, founded on wild theories, but not reducible to practice.

His grace is one of the oldest general officers in Europe, and was (when Lord Warksworth) aid-de-camp to the Earl of Waldegrave, in the seven years war; and when the French revolution broke out, embraced the right cause, and by permission of his majesty, served as a volunteer in the Spanish armies against France, at the Eastern Pyrenees. Were it not for his afflictions with the gout, his grace, who is a true soldier, might have been gathering laurels, now that the tide of fortune has turned, and the good cause triumphs.

LORD PALMERSTON.

SECRETARY AT WAR.

A NOBLEMAN who fills the situation in a most unexceptionable manner. Never were the three departments of war minister, commander-in-chief, and secretary at war, filled in a manner more advantageous to the army and the public, than at present. The co-operation of His Royal Highness the Duke of York, Earl Bathurst, and Lord Palmerston, is excellent, and such as it was intended to be*, but such as we have not always witnessed

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* When Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, was minister at war, and Mr. Windham secretary, the latter, with that eccentric impetuosity for which he was famous, often insisted on being director-general; and to that derangement, amongst other things, was owing the badly managed, and unfortunate expedition to Quiberon. Mr. Dundas had so much on his hands that he had not time to contest matters; and not speaking French, Mr. Windham took the lead in the business, and sent out, at the head of the expedition, two emigrant intriguers, who had no knowledge of military affairs, and whose

between those three different parts of the same administration.

We have observed elsewhere, that it is unfortunate that the ordnance department is separate from the war office, as it is indeed but another branch of the same service; and has been so conducted for a length of time, that at an immense expense we are behind other nations in what regards the artillery. From this arises the slow progress we have made in Spain, when any strong places were to be taken, though in the field our army was always superior to that of the enemy.

The Russians, who are but new, compared with our troops, in the service of the artillery have shewn themselves very expert. At the battle of Borodino, where so much was done with cannon,

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chief attention was bestowed on their own interests: often despised amongst those they were sent to conduct and to command, and equally contemptible to the enemy against whom they were to fight; but they were flatterers, and contrived to deceive the open-hearted, and unsuspicious Windham, who could not conceive that two men who pretended to so much loyalty and zeal for the good cause, were nothing better than hypocrites, seeking riches and honours at the expense of their own country, their fellow countrymen, and of the British government.

they equalled the French, and were even superior; as were the other allied troops, at the battle of Leipsic: but the English have never shown a superiority in that part of the service, except, indeed, when our sailors, in their rough, irregular way, have mounted batteries, and then they have done wonders.

Our artillery-men are too slow, too scientific, and bred up too much in the old methodical way; when the greatest of all advantages are gained by quick movements, and firing rather by judgment than by any regular rule.

It is singular, and not easily accounted for, but it is nevertheless true, that people who aim by guess, succeed much better than those who follow a method that one would suppose to be quite accurate; and it is a great mistake to think that the French succeed so well with their artillery owing to superior science: they succeed, on the contrary, by studying scientifically in their reviews and experiments, but trusting to guess in actual service and on the day of battle.

If the ordnance department were united to the war office, the practice would be modernized, and we should be more successful than we are.

Our sailors point their guns much better, and

more effectually, than the French sailors; and they do every thing by energy, quickness, and a sort of guess, which scientific men look down upon with ineffable contempt: but, with all due deference to such persons, the best, and most accurate operations that are performed quickly, are done by guess; a word that seems to imply uncertainty, but a sort of method by which an operation is performed with astonishing accuracy.

The accuracy with which missile weapons were projected, before the use of gunpowder, (all of which went in curved lines), is quite astonishing.

A stone projected from a sling must be sent off at a tangent of a circle, that the hundredth part of a second would materially alter; and the object would not be hit by several feet, if letting slip the string were not performed with an accuracy for which it is impossible to account.

The stone also must be sent with a force precisely necessary to carry it in a curve that will pass through the mark, the distance of which is known only by that sort of aërial perspective which defies every rule, and is understood from a sort of habit or practice. To this strange but true account of an art obtained merely by practice, and not by rule, let it

be added, that where the linear perspective, which does admit of rule, comes into question, it spoils the precision of the guessing art. A man who has to hit an object across a tesselated pavement, or across water slightly agitated, the waves of which are so many objects nearly similar, (diminishing with the distance), will not guess so well as if all intermediate objects were hid from his view.

The greater part of operations performed by mankind with success, are learnt by a sort of combination or mixture, of theory and practice. Men read, write, speak foreign languages, &c. by rule at first; but so long as they are guided by rule, they proceed very slowly, and seldom very well; yet after the rules are almost forgotten, practice enables them to do the same thing with facility and rapidity, and sometimes almost without thinking what they are about.

The fine arts, as they are termed, (in preference to the mechanical operations that are performed by certain rules), are all dependent on a sort of guess; that is, a knowledge attended with a consciousness of our being right, without being sensible of any rule by which it is put in operation. Were one to try to define this guessing knowledge, perhaps the least inaccurate definition might be—an art which a

man can practice, but which he cannot communicate to another.

No instructions would ever make a great painter, though they might make a correct one. A writer by rule could never give that sort of charm which some authors possess, frequently in contradiction to strict rule. In music the greatest excellence of execution consists in certain variations, the effect of which is felt, but the nature of which cannot be described.

Rules and instructions are the foundation of knowledge, but the higher degrees are obtained by taste, genius, and practice, the latter of which is in all cases indispensable.

It were to be wished that the scientific men of Woolwich Warren would consider these observations; but, as we believe them to be too much absorbed in study to attend to what we say, we wish that the War Office had the direction of that department.

ROBERT PEELE, ESQ. M. P.

SECRETARY TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

THERE is not a more important post under the crown, than that of secretary for Ireland; and it seldom has been filled by a more fit person.

A knowledge of the commercial interests of the two countries is essentially necessary, but unfortunately that has seldom been attended to, though, in the present instance all is right in that respect.

Mr. Peele, whose father is one of the first, if not the very first manufacturer and mercantile man in this country, paid proper attention to the education of his son, who possesses a fund of solid knowledge, such as falls to the lot of but few young men.

Men who have not succeeded, may look with envy at those who have acquired great fortunes by business; but let them be candid, and allow that such men are industrious, economical, and prudent; that they deserve their wealth; and that there is great merit in preserving these habits of industry, when possessed of great wealth.

Merchants who speculate may gain princely fortunes, as gamesters do; but manufacturers never owe their success but to superior intelligence and industry.

This gentleman's family is a most eminent example of what may be gained by industry; and it is not to be doubted that he himself has brought with him into the political world the same attention and integrity that have distinguished his father, and raised him to a situation of great wealth and respectability*.

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* Sir Robert Peele lives in the style of the first rate noblemen in the country; and in his patriotic gifts, when the nation was supposed to want them, stood one of the highest: he gave ten thousand pounds at once as a contribution for carrying on the war!

GENERAL PLATOFF.

The present war has brought into action the Cossacks, and helped to solve a military question that has long been agitated.

The Cossacks make war much in the manner of the ancient Scythians and Parthians. Their country is not far distant, and their manner of life nearly the same.

As the Scythians and Parthians were the most formidable enemies the Romans had to encounter, so the Cossacks have been found extremely formidable to the modern conquerors. There is a sort of analogy that merits notice between the resistance made by those barbarians to the Roman arms, and that of the modern brave Cossacks, not only in the manner of the resistance, but in the circumstances under which it took place.

The Roman empire had attained its greatest extent, when, in the mere wanton lust of conquest, its generals carried their arms against Parthia. The more civilized and wealthy nations of the world had either submitted through fear or force, to

the Roman yoke; and resistance was at last succeeded by a gloomy and quiessent submission to the will of a conqueror that was reckoned irresistible.

The rude warriors, fighting on their own soil, and in their own way, were the first to prove that the haughty masters of the world were not invincible; and after a long contest the Romans affected to disguise necessity under the mask of moderation, and retire from the left bank of the Euphrates, never to return. They affected to think that their empire was too extensive; and the moderation of that ambitious, but great people, has been praised on that account, though the probability is, that they only yielded to necessity, with the appearance of acting from a principle of moderation.

The irregular and flying species of warfare disconcerted the Romans more than the phalanx of the Macedonians, or the elephants of Pyrrhus that were brought against them; as now those brave troops under Platoff, their chief, derange and disconcert the modern conquerors in a manner beyond description, and scarcely to be conceived*.

* The best account of the early modes of warfare amongst hunters and shepherds, that we have seen, is in Smith's Wealth of

The Cossacks have confirmed what began to be evident at the battle of Albuera, where the Polish

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Nations. The ancient Parthians, and the modern Cossacks, are both hunters and shepherds, uniting the numbers of the one, to the athletic habits of the other; and their skill in aiming at an enemy, their rapidity in pursuit or in retreat, together with their uncommon powers of bearing privation and fatigue, are astonishing.

The modes of making war, taking it posterior to the shepherds and hunters, have been various. The Grecian mode at the siege of Troy is well described by Homer, and perfectly intelligible. It was the same mode, probably, that prevailed during the dark ages, when the feudal system was in its greatest integrity.

All the warriors wore armour of defence, and wielded arms of offence of a weight and length proportioned to their strength. The strongest men were surrounded by a set of myrmidons or assistants who carried death and destruction into the ranks of the enemy, till one chief and his myrmidons became opposed to another, and then came the "tug of war:" then the common ranks of warriors often drew breath, and stood still to witness the mighty contest.

The Grecians, when they afterwards had to fight with the Romans, who depended on numbers and discipline, (probably because there were not many great strong men in Italy), laid aside this mode of fighting, and invented the phalanx, by which at first they gained the victory; but the Romans, so inventive in war, soon, by their deep columns, and by adopting the phalanx likewise, gained a superiority. Great armies continued to fight with swords, lances, bows and arrows, and slings, till the fall of the Roman empire. It appears as if, since then, amongst the feudal barons, wars very

lancers were the most formidable to the English. They have proved the superiority of the lance

similar to those of the Grecians in early ages, were carried on, where strong athelic men acted as chiefs, and wore stout and heavy armour. This is worth observing. When the world was occupied by large kingdoms, numerous armies, well disciplined, decided the fate of war; but when the feudal system again divided mankind into small principalities, or dukedoms, and baronies, the ancient mode of warfare was again resorted to, and prevailed.

The manner in which the standing armies of kings overturned feudal power is well known; and then again the same mode of determining the contest by numbers and discipline, that prevailed in the time of the Romans, was adopted. It was just at this period that the use of fire arms was introduced, which gave a new turn to affairs, and the strong and powerful had not the same advantage and superiority that they had in either of the former modes of warfare. Then it was that the French rose to importance; and, as has been shewn in the portrait of General Graham, their power rose precisely in the same proportion as musketry and cannon were employed in preference to the *arme blanche*, or swords, lances, and bayonets.

It is only from the return to the use of the lance, that the French can in any permanent manner, be kept within bounds; and it is at least the interest of all the powers of Europe to make the experiment which has been so admirably begun.

We know that with the bayonet the French lose their superiority, and still more with the lance; it is therefore not a matter of doubt, but of certainty, that the revolutionary war never could have succeeded on the part of France, so long and so well, had it not been for the use of musketry and cannon.

where the combatants come to close quarters, over every other weapon; and they may, in time, be the occasion of that weapon, on an improved plan, being again employed in European armies.

Under the portrait of General Sir Thomas Graham, we have shewn, that it is since the lance was laid aside in battle that the French have become superior to the neighbouring nations. Montesquieu was the first to notice the advantage the French had over their neighbours with the musket; and the present war will probably so far open the eyes of military men in Europe to the truth, as to bring that "queen of weapons" more and more into use.

The Cossacks, for their hardiness in their manner of living, for their indefatigable labour, and their dexterity, are not more remarkable than they are for their fidelity and attachment to their chiefs; and amongst all the brave generals of the Emperor of Russia, there is not one that surpasses, for zeal in the cause of his sovereign and country, the leader of the Cossacks, who has contributed his full portion to the liberation of mankind.

The Cossacks, and their brave chief, have been indefatigable; and though they were at first objects of ridicule to the French, they soon became their greatest object of terror. They have owed this success partly to a military error, into which all Europe fell.

War had become so systematical, and modern tactics had assumed so regular a mode of proceeding, that the French jacobin armies, in 1792, deranged them completely by new modes of fighting; and finding success, they persisted in new stratagems and methods, while their enemies persisted most obstinately in their regular mode of fighting and being beat. Modern tacticians appeared to have forgot that in new devices and stratagems consists principally the art of war; and that men, weak and feeble of frame, slow in their motions, and defenceless by nature, have overcome all the beasts of the field, and of the forest, merely because those beasts fight always in the same way, whereas man uses art and stratagem. Lions and tigers fight as they did three thousand years ago, but man adapts his plans of fighting to circumstances, and governs the whole.

The same principle of adapting the mode of fighting to the manner of the enemy, is necessary. European nations have at last made that discovery, and France is overcome, though in no case were the French so much deranged as by the irregular and desparate warfare carried on by General Platoff and his brave and faithful Cossacks.

SIR THOMAS PLUMER.

The attorney-general, a good sound lawyer, and much more pacific than his predecessor. He does not approve of *ex officio* proceedings, which never ought to be tolerated but when absolutely necessary. For this subject the reader is referred to the portrait of Sir Vickary Gibbs. The latter, when attorney-general, was like a comet at its nearest approach to the sun, when the great Sir Isaac Newton calculated its heat at fifty thousand times the heat of red-hot iron.

Perhaps the great Newton rather over stated the business, unless some sort of material could be found that would bear such a heat, without being dissipated or evaporated. But leaving that to natural philosophers, we may safely say that Sir Vickary was as hot as a comet ought to be, and much too hot for the attorney-general of so good a man as his present majesty; but Sir Thomas is

more like the comet at a mean distance, temperate, and very fit to act for a prince like the Regent, who, though he has been accused of dismissing his early friends, has never been accused of an ill-natured action, or any thing unbecoming a gentleman.

Sir Thomas has recently been appointed to a new office, that of Vice-chancellor; and if we may be allowed to judge from the attention he devotes to it, and the decisions which he has already given, we believe he will discharge the arduous duties of that situation with credit to himself, and advantage to his country.

The nomination of a Vice-chancellor is a great advantage, as the Lord High-chancellor had labour enough for three persons to perform; and the business was consequently always in arrear.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

GEORGE PONSONBY, M. P.

Mr. Ponsonby is considered as being the leader of opposition; but he appears to have converted that once laborious office into a sinecure.

To any one who attends to parliamentary debates, Mr. Whitbread has far more the appearance of the leader; but then there is a certain species of aristocracy amongst the democrats, that makes them prefer acknowledging as their chief the representative of an ancient family.

This is a great inconsistency, but it is to those gentlemen that it belongs to explain it; as for ourselves we think that, in every respect, Mr. Whitbread is better entitled to that honour.

We cannot say much for a man who has so

little to say for himself; and therefore, under the portrait of Mr. Whitbread, Lord King, and M. Montgaillard, we have given what would naturally come under the portrait of Mr. Ponsonby; and we shall finish with saying, that if he had the will, he has the ability to be, in reality, what he has only the name of being; and that it looks very much like as if the opposition was nearly at an end, when a nominal leader can be found sufficient.

How are matters changed since Lord Rockingham, and Mr. Fox, and Mr. Burke, and half the fortune and talents of the country formed a systematic opposition. Now the opposition consists of some few stragglers, something like the strayed Cossacks, or riflemen that follow an army—no regular fighting—no solid, compact body: and even the stragglers want a common interest. One sits skulking in a corner, another appears for a day, and is absent for a month; whilst many are looking at each other; and in no case is there concord or unanimity.

It is indeed enough to disgust men of fortune and principle, when they find that the greatest enemy of the country. (Montgaillard, Buonaparte's

writer) recommends the very same measures that they have been recommending for years. If such a circumstance does not make them ashamed, it may at least make them doubt whether they have not stumbled on the wrong plan for saving their country, as they must allow that Buonaparte is not an ignorant man, and they know he does not wish England well. Opposition might therefore begin to entertain some doubt about the wisdom of their scheme of politics, since it is that recommended by the greatest and ablest enemy of their country.

Under these circumstances, we give Mr. Ponsonby great credit for taking no active part, but for letting the party sink quietly into oblivion. He cannot do better; and, in the French way of speaking, we agree that he deserves well of his country.

SIR HOME POPHAM.

A VERY skilful naval captain, who unites with nautical knowledge, a general understanding of men and of business, and is, withal, zealous and energetic in whatever he undertakes; by these means he has gained the confidence of those who know how to appreciate such meritorious officers, though he has incurred the criticism of others who confine themselves to the strict line of their duty, and who would not go an inch beyond it, although it were to save their country.

Commanders in the army and navy, who have got separate commands, are very unfit men for their charge, if they are of that prudent, selfish nature, who, to avoid all blame, confine themselves strictly to their line of duty when they see a good opportunity of passing it, and of this we have, in our English naval annals, some striking examples.

The great Lord Nelson risked his life doubly on several occasions, and particularly at Copenhagen,

when he absolutely disobeyed the orders of a *superior* officer, who was much inferior to him in skill, ardour, and genius.

When the interests of his country can be advanced, Sir Home has never calculated or considered his own interest or responsibility; his naval history is full of proofs of this zeal and spirit; but the most remarkable example is, when he went from the Cape of Good Hope to Buenos Ayres, for which he was brought to a court martial, and acquitted.

He was afterwards appointed captain of the fleet in the expedition to Copenhagen, and his exertions on that occasion were publicly appreciated by the commander-in-chief; nor is there an officer, we believe, who served on that occasion, who will not give his sincere testimony of the zeal, management, and professional exertions manifested on that occasion by Sir Home.

Sir Home Popham has always been employed on the most active service, he has acquitted himself well, and he is a protector of those of inferior rank, who possess zeal or merit, and make it evident.

He has lately returned from the coast of Spain,

where he commanded a very active squadron, employed in harassing the enemy. The result of his exertions have been most fully appreciated by that magnanimous general, the Marquis of Wellington, who has publicly stated that he knew, by intercepted letters, that Caffarelli refused to reinforce Marmont's army with infantry, in consequence of the apprehension he entertained of the activity of the British squadron.

He has now sailed with the governor-general of India, on board the Stirling Castle, having been selected by his lordship to take him out to his government, in consequence of Sir Home's having made several voyages to that country.

SIR GEORGE PREVOST.

A MAN of great abilities, to whom one of the most difficult commands under the English government has fallen at this time.

When the Americans declared war, Canada was their most immediate object; and the British government did not adopt adequate means of defence. Nothing but the absolute cowardice and insubordination of the American troops could have saved that colony; and all the care, the exertion, and abilities of Sir George Prevost, though seconded in a most admirable manner by the British military, could not have prevented it from falling before the end of the first campaign.

The British troops have done wonders; but in military affairs, numbers must triumph in the end; for every day puts the combatants more nearly on a level. Every thing that bravery can achieve, we may expect from our troops; but as his majesty's

ministers are Christians, they should recollect that the time for miracles is over, and we must not expect that a small handful of men can long resist the efforts of a whole people.

Probably the war in Europe will soon be over, and then the Americans will either be inclined to make peace, or we shall be enabled to force them; but at present the danger of Canada is far from ideal; and we owe much to Sir George Prevost, and our brave army, else, in the ordinary course of events it would have already been lost, for it is not in the ordinary course of events that one to ten should gain the victory: the odds is too great even for British bravery, particularly as on the lakes we have been defeated.

LORD REDESDALE.

The present age has produced a phenomenon in his lordship, who, though bred to the law, and practising very successfully, till he obtained the chancellorship of Ireland, and a peerage, has laboured in the most arduous and admirable manner, to ameliorate the operation of legal proceedings, and rescue the unfortunate from destruction.

This country, which is before most others in almost every thing else, is behind them all in the law of debtor and creditor, which is such as to ruin one party, and injure the other, without, at last, obtaining the end in view.

For a trifling debt, a man might be imprisoned for life, whilst a criminal, (a felon), is only held for a limited time*. Whilst this severity is practised, it

* The intervention of temporary insolvent acts is not to be counted upon, because they are contrary to the law of the land, and are uncertain as to the time when they are to be passed: formerly they occurred very rarely, but of late years they have been more frequent, and at all times they were contrary to justice. Nearly all laws are

is entirely without utility. The creditor never could get a shilling, and the unfortunate man was lost to himself, to his family, (if he had one), and to the community. It is not less strange that a man who has property may go to prison and consume it in defiance of his lawful creditor, who cannot recover a farthing: so that the law may be said to be defective in every direction, and in every point of view.

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in reality *ex post facto*, in the origin; that is, they are made after the utility or necessity of the law has become evident. No punishment has ever been ordained for crimes that have not existed, and legislators do not speculate upon the possibility of crimes that are unknown; but though crimes precede the laws for punishing them, no man is to be judged by a law that did not exist when the act was done. This is a fundamental principle in the administration of justice; but this principle is completely violated in the case of temporary insolvent acts: it is an alteration of the contract entered into by the debtor and creditor; and is, in reality, *unconstitutional*. The parliament assumes the right, but it is contrary to the principles of the British constitution, except on the plea of necessity, which alone gives a right to touch individual property. King, Lords, and Commons, may lay on taxes, which is taking away our property; but they have no right to fix upon certain individuals, and take away any part of their property, which is done by every temporary insolvent act.

In Scotland, and other countries, matters are arranged more in conformity to justice, common sense, and the interests of mankind; and, greatly to the honour of Lord Redesdale, he has brought in, and carried through, a perpetual insolvent act, to remedy some of those grievances.

It would far exceed our limits to enter into a minute discussion either of the act as it has passed, or of the nature and rights of the question; but some observations are necessary, for the importance of the subject is very great.

It is highly important in a variety of points of view.

First. As being a disgrace, in a civilized nation, that a man should or may suffer more severely for incurring a small debt, which he cannot pay, than a criminal for any thing less than a capital offence.

Second. It is inhuman, and contrary to the spirit of Christianity*, as well as of the moral principles of

* We have said elsewhere, (in the portrait of Lord Erskine), that the abolition of slavery is one of the benefits arising from the Christian religion; and we have given proofs of that fact, so deserving to be universally known, but in reality almost totally forgotten, or at least never mentioned: and certainly it is fully as much contrary

justice, that misfortune should be punished more severely than criminality; and that one man should have the happiness of another in his power, together with that of an innocent family also.

Third. The interests of the state are greatly injured by the numbers of men condemned to poverty, misery, and idleness, by a law so absurd and unjust; and it being the duty of a good government to provide for the welfare of the state, it is its duty to see good regulations used with regard to debtors and creditors.

Fourth. The creditors themselves are not done justice to, in many cases, by the law as it stood; and as it still stands, though it is partially altered: because, while one debtor is uselessly oppressed,

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to the spirit of that divine religion, as any slavery can be, that a man, merely because he owes a debt, should be completely in the power of his fellow man; and that he and his children should be condemned to starve, perhaps, for law expenses incurred at the suit of, or by the advice of some of those pests of society called petty-fogging attorneys.

But if the debt be contracted fairly, whether imprudence or misfortune is the cause of failure in payment, there is nothing so inhuman as punishing it in the second degree of severity; that is, by perpetual imprisonment.

another lives in luxury, and laughs at his creditor, who has no means, as the law now exists, of compelling him to give up his property*.

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* None of those observations are meant to bear with severity on the general character of creditors: the debtors are for the most part more to blame, and are more obstinate than their creditors; but there are individual examples of great hardships and severity. The creditors in England are not to be blamed, generally, for ill-nature but they are very much to be blamed for carelessness, indifference, and want of consideration. When once a debtor is in prison, the creditor gives himself (generally speaking) no more trouble: the consequence is not unnatural: the unfortunate man feels still like a man, he feels that he is not treated as he ought to be, and he seeks relief from misery, oppression, and bitter reflections, in dissipation; such as the place affords. Wherever there are a number of persons in the same situation, and in the same place, sympathy and fellow-feeling, stimulate the passions. Whether we are at a tragedy or a comedy, on the number of spectators depends a great part of the effect; for between the mind acting alone, and in company with other minds similarly situated, there is almost a total difference.

Prisoners naturally communicate with each other, and dwell on the hardships they undergo; which they generally magnify till they get enraged against their creditors, who, in many cases are more mindful of the interests of the debtor than he is himself; but then some designing villain of an attorney who, perhaps, was the original cause of the evil, prevents the good intentions of the creditor from

It is scarcely possible to conceive, amongst an enlightened people, any regulations so completely inefficient, or rather so contrary to the end they were intended to produce, as the laws for recovering debts were previous to the exertion of Lord Redesdale.

One of the greatest and most essential distinctions between an intelligent and an ignorant people is, that whatever is done by the intelligent answers the purpose intended to be answered; but, with the ignorant, sometimes it answers, and sometimes not.

In the case of the debtor and creditor law, the end in view is so far from being obtained, that it is counteracted; and great mischief done, in addition

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being of any avail. The expenses are to be paid, and the creditor is scarcely to be expected to add to his loss by doing that.

How such complicated evils should remain without a remedy, in a nation like this, for so great a length of time, is absolutely inconceivable. It would take a volume to describe the absurdities, and the miseries produced by those absurdities; but it is to be hoped, that, with a little time, they will all be redressed. Such men as Lord Redesdale, and Sir Samuel Romilly will not permit so disgraceful a situation of things to remain.

to the original loss; and the affair sometimes terminates in the creditor coming to keep company with the debtor whom he had sent to confinement.

The disgrace to the legislature, of permitting so absurd a regulation to exist so long, is the greater, that they have examples to follow, that not only save trouble, but shew that the alteration would be safe*. The only excuse that ought to be admitted

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* In all cases of alteration *safety* is a great consideration. Scotland has long had the benefit of the *Cessio Bonorum;* and, in answer to those who think it a bad law, the fact is, that commerce and manufactures never flourished so surprisingly in any country, or in any part of a country, as in Glasgow and its vicinity; yet the *Cessio Bonorum* is in force there. So much, then, for those who pretend that it will not do in a trading country. The real fact is, that the alteration proposed has scarcely any connection with the solid trading part of a nation. In Scotland, credit is as easily obtained as in England, and much less is lost by bad debts. That Scotland is not a country of trade and manufactures, like England, is true, but that is owing to a variety of circumstances that are well known: it is, however, necessary to observe, that since Scotland did begin to become a trading country, it has advanced faster than ever England did.

The Irish have the advantage of the same law between debtor

for allowing a bad regulation to exist is, when we do not know of a better, or when there might be danger in applying the better; but we have neither of the excuses in this case, for in Scotland and in Holland, a more wise, efficient, a more humane and civilized mode of recovering debts prevails, and therefore we cannot plead ignorance.

The matter seems to have been much mistaken in this, that it has been supposed that unless the recovery of debts was rigorous, there would not be that credit and confidence necessary to a commercial people.

The credit of real commercial men is totally independent of the idea of the loss of personal liberty for an unlimited period; and if any difference will exist with respect to credit, it will be an advantageous one, for men without means of paying, or without honest intentions, will alone feel any inconvenience; and it is for the interest of every society, that such men should be prevented from having credit. Men will then know, that without preserving a

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and creditor that the English have; and yet Ireland does not succeed so well as Scotland, as a trading country. The *Cessio Bonorum* is not, then, any way incompatible with the prosperity of a trading nation.

character for honesty, they will have no means of obtaining confidence: and, at the same time, the nefarious tradesman will not encourage those who are extravagant to run in debt, as is but too much the practice. At the same time that debtors are to be liberated on giving up their all, the creditors should have a power of forcing them to give up all; it should not be optional. It should not be a load touching those who have little, and not applicable to those who have much; but as it is, the creditor has really some reason to complain.

As Lord Redesdale means only to do good, he will not be offended at some hints that may be of use, which we shall give without order or ceremony.

The person freed should be exonerated from all his debts. The clause in the present bill that compels him to furnish a list of all his creditors in his schedule is wrong, in as much as it requires what it may frequently be impossible to perform. A man may have acceptances in the hands of persons he does not know; and in many different ways it may so happen that he cannot give an accurate description of his creditors. The principle being that of giving up all, and obtaining liberty, in order to exert industry, as bankrupts do, there should be no room

left for depriving them of that advantage. Concealment of property should be most severely punished; but it is being too severe to restrict a man's family to property under the value of £20, and then torment the man himself by making him swear to the particular items of which that property consists*. There is something so little and paltry; so different from the real English character in all this, that it is to be hoped, were it for nothing else than the honour of the nation, that it should be altered.

There can be no great difficulty in arranging such a bill as a perpetual insolvent one, upon the principle of experiment, which may be improved as experience shall point out; but where one or two members of the house of lords or commons under-

* It is worth considering, that this, in the first place gives a great temptation to perjury, and that *wilful*. In the second place, it so indisposes a man, writhing under misfortune, to be obliged (as is said to be the case) to give the particulars of every thing, every beggarly remnant of better days, belonging to a starving family, that he looks on perjury, if not innocent, as unavoidable. It is certainly sufficient if he swears to the amount at his peril. More cannot be useful, or tend to any good purpose.

take a subject, and get no ready or willing assistance from others, great difficulties arise from that cause. The most superficial observer must have noticed that in a revenue bill, or an army regulation bill, of the most complex nature, the house proceeds with great rapidity, and every thing is done as if there was not any difficulty whatever; but in the insolvent bill, which has been many years in contemplation, the principle of which is broad and plain, and founded on justice and common sense, about two years were taken to make it pass into a law; and when done it was found so incomplete, that it could not be acted upon.

It would be unnecessary to make any commentary on this: the cause is evident—one or two persons only bore the burthen of the business; there were some opposed, and the majority acquiesced apparently with an indifferent sort of reluctance, perhaps because they were ashamed to let humanity and common sense plead in vain.

Lord Redesdale has had great trouble and great merit in his conduct in the insolvent bill. It is not less humane than the abolition of the slave trade, which made so much noise, and had such violent partizans.

Such men as Lord Redesdale and Sir Samuel Romilly do honour to human nature; and some share of that honour might be obtained by other legal characters, if they would be more ready than they are to assist in making regulations that are for the general good of mankind.

DUKE OF RICHMOND.

His grace, who was for a number of years lord lieutenant of Ireland, managed the affairs of that country with remarkable prudence and moderation.

Ireland has had a singular fate. From its first conquest by Henry II. till the accession of the house of Brunswick to the British throne, it was a most cruelly oppressed country*. Even under King

* King William treated Ireland almost as badly as Cromwell had done, and nearly for the same cause. It had in both cases been

William it was treated with uncommon rigour and severity. It is very unfashionable, and not reckoned very good policy, to say any thing in favour of the adherents of the unfortunate house of Stuart; but truth is truth, be the object or the end what they may; and it will ever be to the honour of the Irish nation, that, though they were the most faithful to the royal family, both during the great rebellion and at the revolution, they never disturbed the succession when once established.

In contrasting the conduct of the Irish with that of the Scotch, in this instance, the contrast is greatly in favour of the former. The Scotch were abundantly ready to abandon their prince, though sprung from their own country; and they twice

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singularly loyal to the legitimate sovereign, and the legitimate William seemed as much displeased with that display of loyalty as the usurper Cromwell had been.

Previously the Irish had been treated very badly: the natives were considered little better than as wild beasts; and at one time it was not a punishable offence to kill an Irishman. Earl Clare, in his most luminous speeches at the passing of the union, describes the former degraded and desolate state of Ireland, in lively but true colours.

rebelled in order to restore the exiled family*. The Irish, on the contrary, never abandoned the cause of their sovereign, till the crown was fairly in possession of a king placed on the throne by the united voice of the nation: and after that, they never revolted in favour of the abdicated prince. Such conduct was highly honourable, and it is much to be lamented that the same generous minded and loyal people have become disaffected now that they are well treated.

From the accession of George I. the situation of Ireland has been gradually improving, but it was not till the year 1780 that that country obtained a degree of liberty such as she deserved.

Mr. Grattan allows that he found Ireland in fetters, and had lived to see her free; but what is vexatious to contemplate is, that in 1797, (but a short period after this amelioration of condition), Ireland was in open revolt; and, had not the widely extensive conspiracy been discovered by

* It is true that the majority of the Scottish nation remained faithful to the family on the throne; but numerous were those who waited to see the event, and then the real strength of the party would have been known.

accident*, the consequences might have been fatal indeed.

The union which was brought about from the best of motives, will no doubt prove a great benefit to Ireland; but the impatience of the people is such that they are not inclined to wait to give it a fair trial.

The Duke of Richmond has been viceroy at one of the most critical periods. He succeeded his brother-in-law the Duke of Bedford†, who was

* Mr. Cope of Dublin, who discovered the plot, met with Mr. Reynolds, one of the conspirators, and in travelling in the same carriage with him, learned enough to suspect that there was a regular plan: he is a man of great sagacity, and of known integrity, and obtained the secret under a promise of either keeping it, or of obtaining for Reynolds a sufficient time to enable him to quit the country, and money enough to live at ease after having paid his debts. Mr. Cope kept his word. He obtained the reward for Reynolds, and saved Ireland from great misfortunes. This certainly was an accidental affair; for scarcely a man in any country was so fit for such an office as Mr. Cope; and that the fittest man to save his country should meet with the fittest man to betray the conspirators, was certainly such an accident as could not be expected.

† No reflection is meant on the Duke of Bedford, who, though lord lieutenant at the time, does not appear to have been in any way implicated in the underhand, ill-favoured plot of Grey and Grenville, about the Irish Roman Catholics, that got all the talents sent to

sent over by all the TALENTS, when they were in administration, and when false hopes had been held out to the Roman Catholics; so that the Duke of Richmond was really in the most disagreeable situation possible at first. He was the successor of one to whom the Irish looked up for what they had falsely termed emancipation; and represented the government that had blasted their hopes, and thwarted their views; but the wisdom, the moderation, and the justice of his grace conquered all those difficulties; and Ireland, though less coerced than at any former period, and though more disappointed than of late, has been much more quiet and tranquil.

The government of the duke was the more honourable, that though his firmness prevented his being what is termed popular, yet his regard to justice, and his wise government, procured him

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grass like t[illegible]ng of Babylon. The seven years are just expiring, but it does not appear that the grazing season is over, nor even that there is any limit to it. If Mr. Windham were alive, what a fine field for him, who was so apt to speak of hungry bellies, and empty trenchers. Oh what a pity it is that this country will not let the men of talents have even the "*candle ends*" and "*cheese parings.*"

esteem, obedience, and respect, while he abstained from any thing that had the appearance of rigour.

The successor of the duke will have a much easier office for two reasons. The first moment of disappointment is over, and the first moment is the most difficult to digest. The French are now overthrown, and it is not necessary to attempt to conceal that the Irish Roman Catholics have all along considered that, on the contest with France, the greatest ground of their hopes consisted*. It has been too much the idea entertained in Ireland,

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* Since the Irish rebellion, it does not appear that there is any direct intercourse between that country and France; but notwithstanding the shameful treatment of his holiness the pope, who, though he pretends to keep the keys of heaven, has been long under lock and key himself, to the great disgrace of Buonaparte, the Irish Roman Catholics looked with a kind of expectancy to France. "We will not fight your battles if we get not what we demand," was one way in which they hoped to prevail: the other was, that Buonaparte, who is Jew, or Turk, or Catholic, as occasion suits, in case of having it in his power, would lend them assistance. *Not to conquer Ireland, but merely to obtain their rights!!!* Further than that, to be sure, Buonaparte would mean nothing at all at all.

that Britain would only do justice by compulsion, and in a moment of danger. The moment of danger appears to be past, and of course concession cannot be expected to be obtained in that manner; particularly as Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan, the two persons on whom they depended for support, above all others seem to be unwilling to go to the extremes to which they wish to carry their pretensions.

We could name a situation in this country that would be well filled by the Duke of Richmond; but what has the portrait painter to do with the position of the person, after he has drawn the portrait?

SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY, KNT. M.P.

As this gentleman's name is never mentioned but in the best of causes, and highly to his honour, it is almost useless to attempt drawing his portrait.

There is strengh of feature, but where are the light and shade. He never exerts himself but to do good, and that without any private or interested motive.

Sir Samuel does what is certainly beyond praise. He does not take up the cause of humanity, when it happens to be splendidly supported, or connected with party views, or political interests; but he employs his great legal knowledge in improving the laws of his country where they fall heavy on the unfortunate.

Without pretending to visionary plans of perfection, or seeking after dangerous projects of reform, he, like an able man, with an excellent heart and correct judgment, seeks to improve existing institutions in a safe and practical way, and he makes his efforts in a manner so decorous, so serious, and so

becoming, that the spirit of resistance sinks before him.

There is nothing more difficult to effect than legal reform in this country; and, consequently, in no branch of practical administration has the country advanced so slowly* as in the administration of justice between man and man. When our jealousy of liberty does not give energy to our efforts, we allow a small interested phalanx to overpower us all†; Sir Samuel, who yields to none in ability,

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* We allude not only to the civil, but the criminal law. In the latter, prevention of crimes is scarcely ever attempted, and the punishments were becoming more sanguinary, till Sir Samuel Romilly resisted the progress. As for the civil law, it becomes daily more complicated and more expensive. In it we know only two improvements that have been made of any importance of late. The first was the nomination of the judges for life, which we owe to his Majesty, soon after he began to reign; and the other is the permanent insolvent bill, which we owe to Lord Redesdale, Sir Samuel Romilly, and the necessities of the times.

† [illegible] meant to the honourable gentlemen of the bar; but they will admit, that as the DUTY of a counsel is to save a murderer, if he is paid for it, and to convict an accused person, if he can, and is employed so to do, and all this for the lucre of gain, it requires that adventitious species of morality that confounds right

has taken up the cause of the public in a manner that will make him succeed, if success is possible.

Sir Samuel has apparently in view to procure ameliorations in the law, both civil and criminal, wherever it can safely be done. The task is great, and he will have few assistants; but the ministers who are now in place have apparently less propensity to oppression than any ministers within our memory. They labour, without noise or ostentation, to do the best for the nation; and perhaps they will consider what an addition to the weight of taxes and public burthens is the tax of law; it is a tax that falls not regularly on all, but heavily on individuals, one after another, and from which few escape.

The great expense of obtaining justice is certainly a hardship; but that is not the worst part of the business. There is no punishment for attorneys

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and custom with each other, to enable one to admire the bar in its full glory. Hume says that custom makes right, [illegible] criminality: all this we have treated on at length under the portraits of the Royal Dukes, to which article we refer the reader. Sir Samuel Romilly has, in the house of parliament, resisted the influence of the bar more than any man of the profession ever did to our knowledge.

who betray their clients. They cannot be attacked without great difficulty and danger, and consequently they injure men with impunity.

In the profession there are a great number of respectable men; but there are others who are far more dangerous than the thieves and pick-pockets (who are known to the officers of justice) that occasionally commit depredations.

On the imprisonment for debt, Dr. Johnson, in his Idler, makes the following remarks:

"Whatever society wastes more than it requires, must gradually decay; and every being that continues to be fed, and ceases to labour, takes away something from the public stock.

"The confinement, therefore, of any man in the sloth and darkness of a prison, is a loss to the nation, and no gain to the creditor. For of the multitudes who are pining in those cells of misery, a very small part is suspected of any fraudulent act by which they retain what belongs to others. The rest are imprisoned by the wantonness of pride, the malignity of revenge, or the acrimony of disappointed expectation.

"If those who thus rigorously exercise the power which the law has put into their hands, be asked, why they continue to imprison those whom they

know to be unable to pay them—one will answer, that his debtor once lived better than himself; another, that his wife looked above her neighbours, and his children went in silk clothes to the dancing-school; and another, that he pretended to be a joker and a wit. Some will reply, that if they were in debt, they should meet with the same treatment; some, that they owe no more than they can pay, and need therefore give no account of their actions. Some will confess their resolution that their debtors shall rot in jail; and some will discover, that they hope, by cruelty, to wring the payment from their friends.

"The end of all civil regulations is to secure private happiness from private malignity; to keep individuals from the power of one another; but this end is apparently neglected, when a man, irritated with loss, is allowed to be the judge of his own cause, and to assign the punishment of his own pain; when the distinction between guilt and happiness, between casualty and design, is entrusted to eyes blind with interest, to understandings depraved by resentment.

"Since poverty is punished among us as a crime, it ought at least to be treated with the same lenity as other crimes; the offender ought not to languish,

at the will of him whom he has offended, but to be allowed some appeal to the justice of his country. There can be no reason why any debtor should be imprisoned, but that he may be compelled to payment; and a term should therefore be fixed, in which the creditor should exhibit his accusation of concealed property. If such property can be discovered, let it be given to the creditor; if the charge is not offered, or cannot be proved, let the prisoner be dismissed.

"Those who made the laws have apparently supposed, that every deficiency of payment is the crime of the debtor. But the truth is, that the creditor always shares in the act, and often more than shares the guilt, of improper trust. It seldom happens that any man imprisons another but for debts which he suffered to be contracted in hope of advantage to himself, and for bargains in which he proportioned his profit to his own opinion of the hazard; and there is no reason why one should punish the other for a contract in which both concurred.

"Many of the inhabitants of prisons may justly complain of harder treatment. He that once owes more than he can pay, is often obliged to bribe

his creditor to patience by increasing his debt. Worse and worse commodities, at a higher and higher price, are forced upon him; he is impoverished by compulsive traffic, and at last overwhelmed in the common receptacles of misery, by debts which, without his own consent, were accumulated on his head."

RIGHT HON. GEORGE ROSE.

Mr. Rose is one of the best-informed men in this country, as to the details of political business. His experience is great, and his judgment accurate. His uncommon assiduity, industry, and attention to affairs for a great number of years have obtained for him a fortune about as great as some others obtain in half the time, with a quarter of his trouble.

Men of light parts and some conceit have thought, that because Mr. Rose's qualities were all of the solid, not of the splendid sort, that they would lie

on him for a mark to shoot at, a sort of target, where, like volunteers, they might show their skill without danger; but they have frequently been mistaken: for, though he does not attack, he is excellent at resistance, and never speaks without understanding his subject*.

His observations on the poor laws are full of information, and the attention he has paid to the subject does him the highest honour.

Mr. Rose has so long enjoyed places of profit and confidence, that he might have amassed an immense fortune; but, though he has never lived in a style of expensive splendour, his fortune is far inferior to many that have been amassed in much inferior situations, and in much less time.

Those who differed with Mr. Pitt as to his gene-

* Even in the last affair, about the two buckets, which was a fair, but a familiar and rather *unfortunate* comparison, as it was taken, Mr. Rose said nothing improper. There was no levity in his manner, and, as to the fitness of the observation, it was never questioned, being merely equivalent to that of a trial of strength, a deadly combat. It was unluckily ill received, and construed into a sort of sarcastic similitude, when it appeared only that he meant to be very intelligible.

ral politics, all allowed, that as a finance minister he held the first rank. Most men allowed him the first post in the first rank, and all admitted his great abilities.

It is well known, that, to the solid talents of Mr. Rose, his great experience and judgment, we owe the basis on which the sinking fund and other financial plans were founded, that have supported the credit of his country during a war of twenty years of unexampled expense and danger.

Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Rose, had each their different departments, and it was by their joint exertions that the financial system was brought to certainty in its operations, and success in its result.

During the American war, difficulties increased every year—Lord North was unequal to the task; he had neither the firmness, perseverance, nor skill necessary. During the present contest the case has been very different; the world sees the difference, the friends of England rejoice, and its enemies tremble. Such are the consequences of the labours of the three statesmen mentioned; and, meaning no discredit to those that are gone, nor offence to their friends, we repeat, that the solid knowledge and in-

defatigable industry of Mr. Rose served as a foundation for the whole structure, to which it is more than probable England owes her independence at this day, and Europe her safety.

Perhaps this statement may seem overcharged to those who estimate the talents and services of public men by the length of their speeches, or by the noise they make in the public prints; but let such men reflect what England would have been without the sinking fund to support its credit. Let them next acknowledge the co-operation we have stated, and then they may appreciate the services rendered to his country by Mr. George Rose.

GEORGE ROSE, JUN. ESQ. M. P.

This gentleman, son of the former, is now employed in a diplomatic capacity on the continent of Europe, and has already been in the same to the United States of America.

As it plainly appears that the American government acted at the instigation of the ruler of France, and was determined to go to war, Mr. Rose could not possibly succeed in the business on which he was sent; but that he acquitted himself to the satisfaction of ministers, is proved by his present mission.

The advantage of being brought up under the eye of a father, like Mr. Rose, is very great to any young man who is to fill an important station, where much is to depend on his own discretion and abilities. When men are educated for the pulpit, the bar, or the army, they have only to act as others do, and they will have their fair chance: they are, as it were, kept in their right place, and proper position, by the great number of their companions. The

greatest danger such men have to encounter is bad company; but it is not so with men who are chosen to act alone, and at a distance from advice or assistance: then a man must depend on his own resources, and to such it is necessary to have had all the advantages of a good education.

Mr. Rose had the example of his father, who is one of the most able and assiduous men of business in this country; who enters into the minutest details, at the same time that he takes a comprehensive and liberal view of the whole of a subject; and we understand that the son has followed that example with great advantage.

It has been the custom for the enemies of Mr. Pitt, and of his system, to attack, with peculiar asperity, those who lent that minister the most able assistance; and accordingly Mr. Rose came in for a very considerable share of abuse, which his son, as he arrived at years of maturity, either shared or received at second hand; but the Pitt system having saved Europe, his character, and that of his coadjutors, will outlive the sarcasms of such enemies.

Perhaps we may be accused of rashness, or at least of judging prematurely, when we say that the plan of Mr. Pitt has finally triumphed; and we

admit that the assertion requires some explanation.

We by no means go the length of saying that the ruler of France is about to be dethroned, but we do not see that necessary; we only see the necessity of France being reduced to her ancient limits, or nearly so, and then we are convinced that Europe will be in a more safe state than it has been ever since the family of Bourbon placed one of its branches on the throne of Spain.

We think several causes will make Europe more secure since the period we have mentioned.

First. The German empire, which was the natural balance to France on the continent, had gradually lost its energy, and its unity of action; the parts had become dispirited and disunited, so that it ceased to oppose any barrier to the ambition of France. It will now be restored to its ancient strength and importance, and will be able to oppose effectual resistance to France.

Second. Spain and Portugal will now be ready also, in case of need to aid in resisting France.

And last of all, Russia, that great empire, that requires no aggrandizement, and is interested in the peace of Europe, has obtained a degree of impor-

tance, and a connection with other European nations hitherto unknown, of which the consequences promise to be very beneficial, as tending greatly to preserve the peace of the whole.

The nations of Europe comprehend their interest, and see that they ought not to be at variance, but united, which has been brought about by Mr. Pitt's plan of *politics*; but at all events it was that plan that occasioned Britain to resist, till France had exerted her energy, exhausted her strength, and exposed her folly; so that we are warranted in saying that Mr. Pitt's plan has succeeded, without meaning to insinuate that France is overcome, or reduced below the proper rank that she is entitled to hold amongst European nations.

EARL ST. VINCENT.

A most skilful admiral, to be ranked with the greatest of the present time, when the British navy excels all former periods. St. Vincent followed next to Earl Howe in humbling the navies of our enemies, and his victory off Cape St. Vincent was one of the greatest and most severely contested in the revolutionary war.

To Earl St. Vincent the nation is indebted for bringing forward, in rather an irregular manner, that great phenomenon Lord Nelson. Earl St. Vincent had penetration sufficient to discern his extraordinary merit, and he had greatness of mind to venture at deviating from the ordinary routine of naval promotion, in order to give him a command suitable to his skill and bravery.

The whole world knows how Nelson justified the choice made by Lord St. Vincent, and his country will always be indebted to him for what he did: for in the ordinary course of things, Nelson could not have had the command at the glorious battle of the Nile, and England would not have seen the last

and greatest of all its naval victories, at Trafalgar.

Earl St. Vincent was for some time first lord of the admiralty, where it is said he was too severe and economical; but let it be observed, that in our dock yards, the abuses are enormous, and no man is so unpopular as one who tries to introduce economy, and reform abuse. Considering that these reforms were made by the same man who risked offending the navy to advance the brave Nelson, we are disposed to doubt the impartiality of those who blame him; and, at all events, we are convinced that he was guided by the best of motives.

It is too common a failing of men who have ambition of glory, to seek applause wherever it can be obtained; we therefore admire a man who, like Earl St. Vincent, is inflexible in doing his duty, whether he is to obtain censure or applause.

PRINCE SCHWARTZENBERG.

This is one of the greatest generals of the age; and, what is still more surprising, he displayed those great abilities from the first moment of his having the chief command of the Austrian army.

The battle of the 16th October was one of the hardest-fought battles upon record; and in it, with the Austrians alone, he beat Buonaparte's main army, commanded by himself in person, and prepared the way for the decisive battle of the 18th of the same month, called the battle of Leipsic, in which the fate of Europe was decided by half a million of men in arms.

That was one of the greatest days in the military annals of the world; and by far the most important in its immediate consequences.

The battle of Leipsic was, by land, something like what the battle of Trafalgar was by sea—the last great contest for victory; no power remaining

to maintain such another contest; and, as concerning Buonaparte, we may say—

" This fight all former fights surpast,
" It was his greatest and his last."

Prince Schwartzenberg conducted himself with great ability; and the allies made no errors, whilst the French, acting alone*, made many. This is a new occurrence in war, for we have been always accustomed to see allies making mistakes, either through jealousy of each other, through separate interests prevailing, or through the difficulty of adjusting rank amongst the commanders.

At the battle of Leipsic, as during the whole of the campaign, the emperor of Russia, though himself the life and soul of the whole, put an end to all jealousy amongst the generals, by shewing the noble example of himself taking the place of auxiliary, when he was in reality chief. It was Aga-

* It is true that Buonaparte had many auxiliaries, but then his auxiliaries were as submissive as any of his own generals. His coercive system produced unanimity by the mere influence of force and fear. It was not so among the allies: their co-operation was quite voluntary, such as is unusual amongst allies, only they happened, on this occasion, to have no separate interests—no different views.

memnon led by the wisdom of Nestor and Ulysses, foregoing his high pretensions to promote harmony amongst the confederate kings.

The Russian generals, who commanded in chief, and who beat the French in their own country, are now but second in command; such is the devotion of the emperor, and of his brave warriors, to the great cause of the deliverance of Europe. This is a phenomenon as strange and uncommon as those events that have given rise to it.

It is not a little astonishing that whilst Buonaparte and his generals have been committing blunder upon blunder, although experienced by almost incessant warfare, for more than fifteen years, the generals of the allies, with much less practice and experience, appear to have committed no mistakes.

Not only has fortune changed sides, but the energy and active co-operation for which the French were an example to other nations, have abandoned them, and are now found all on the side of the allies.

Whilst the French soldiers thought they were fighting for a good cause, and had an advantageous end to their labours in view, they were almost invincible; but since they have been led to wild expeditions, that could not be represented as benefi-

cial, and which had no appearance of a termination, they have never been successful, even with inferior numbers; and their chief has lost all that combination, and military sagacity of which he displayed so much when he first began his career in the campaigns in Italy.

France has worn out both her moral and physical force, whilst the other nations of Europe have learnt, by great sufferings, the necessity of great exertions, and the no less urgent necessity of being true to each other.

The Prince of Schwartzenberg was some time ambassador in Paris, and there he no doubt learnt to appreciate, and to know the character of the enemy he has now to combat. Hence it is fair to conclude arises, in a great measure, that steady firmness that repels all his insidious attacks, and frustrates all those underhand manœuvres which, for a number of years were so successful to the French.

The prince is as able in the cabinet as in the field; and with such a cause, and such men in high situations, there can be little doubt of ultimate success, while the enemy is discomfited, dismayed, and reduced in numbers.

The hand of Providence has long been evident in the great change of affairs; and any one who takes

a rapid view of the French revolution, will be very sceptical if he does not allow that the volcano that burst forth in France in 1789, has been extinguished by a most strange succession of events, brought about by intelligent and enlightened men, who were doing just the contrary of what they intended to do.

Long have those who admired Buonaparte, held him up as an irresistible instrument in the hand of Divine Providence; and, indeed, as Providence uses natural means to accomplish her inscrutable purposes, it required nothing less than such an extraordinary man to effect what he has done.

When the revolution had established the jacobin clubs all over France, and those clubs did actually command above a million of soldiers, who were employed to rob and ruin neighbouring nations, Buonaparte had the address and ability to turn the armies against the jacobins, and thus make the origin of the evil to cease.

Here he had accomplished a great work; and at this, if he had stopped, he might have been considered as the best and greatest of men; his dynasty would have merited stability; but no—the army itself then became as dangerous to mankind, as its former masters had been; and no ima-

ginable address could reduce this army; and Buonaparte neither could nor would make the attempt. Here it is that Divine Providence manifests itself. In the fulness of his ambition and vain glory, promising plunder, wealth, and dominion, he collects his whole force to effect one desperate purpose; and while he and his bands think they are going to immortalize themselves as the heroes, and the masters of mankind—while they boast that they march as on a party of pleasure and amusement, they all at once find themselves in the worst season of the year, in the most miserable country, and amidst the most formidable enemies. The world knows how fatal this was; for of the best appointed, and most numerous army in the world, very few escape death; and of those few not one escapes infamy. The soldiers perish rather than forsake their officers; and the officers basely forsake their soldiers to save themselves.

Thus armies and all are destroyed, by a means which it was not in the power of man to contrive and execute. To lead the men to destruction, it was necessary that they should be led as if to victory, all which was thus wonderfully accomplished. Thus Buonaparte has completed, by his infatuation, the work he began by his abilities,

and which no human talents could have accomplished.

Buonaparte has done, most completely, and with great pains and exertion, what he never intended to do; and what, if he had known, he never would have done. Is not this being a blind instrument?

Never, surely, was any thing so sudden, or so complete, as the overthrow of Buonaparte, when he left the small exhausted remnants of his once great plundering army at Smogornie. Murder and plunder had never before been conducted on a scale either so splendid or so great, and never did murderers and robbers meet with so severe or signal a punishment.

The infatuation of Buonaparte in attacking Russia, and penetrating to Moscow at the beginning of winter, was great indeed; but the humiliation of France was not complete, neither was she disabled sufficiently for the safety of other nations. The wretched and fugitive chief returns, after having sacrificed above half a million of men, and raises a fresh army, which he leads to the heart of Germany once more; and even then he might have, in a great measure, retrieved his fortune, could his former reverse have taught him wisdom and moderation; but, after sacrificing the greatest part of his army in

the field, he leaves nearly all the remainder in fortresses, that must fall into the hands of his enemies, so that he is unable to muster troops to defend France!

The French revolution thus terminates in the severe punishment of the country in which it originated, after a series of disappointments unparalleled in history.

The first attempt was to establish liberty on a more extensive scale than it ever existed: that ended in unexampled slavery! The second attempt was to establish a powerful empire, on a scale greater than had ever existed; and that terminated in unexampled feebleness and defeat!!

In both these attempts the independence and peace of Europe were endangered; but that danger is now over, and we may expect a more lasting peace and tranquillity than has been experienced for several ages.

SIR WILLIAM SCOTT, KNT.

In the portrait of Lord Eldon, brother to Sir William Scott, we have said what we thought of his judgments in the intricate cases of captures during the present war.

Even the Americans have not, with all their rude and ill-natured sophistry, been able to object to the decisions of Sir William Scott, who, if he were not our contemporary, would be considered as a more profound genius than Grotius or Puffendorf, or any of those who have written on the laws of nature and of nations.

It is one of the blemishes in the character of the present race, that they only admire what is past; and it would seem that they esteem men as they esteem wines, by their age; or medals, by their antiquity. Without, however, falling entirely into this modern manner of judging, we shall assert, without much fear of being contradicted, that Sir William Scott has applied solid and just rules of judging to very complicated cases, in such a manner as to obtain the approbation of all. We have unfortunately

lived at a period when we have witnessed the great facility of laying down abstract rules and a pure theory, and experienced the difficulty of applying them to actual occurrences; we may therefore judge how much more difficult has been the task of Sir William Scott, than that of writers who have only treated the subject in an abstract way.

Were we to go into an examination of the judgments given by Sir William, we could not do it in a cursory manner, and to do it at length would far exceed our bounds; we are therefore compelled to confine ourselves to the assertion that no man ever displayed more accuracy of judgment, or had more respect to justice; for the truth of which we appeal to the court over which he presides, regretting that we have not the means of doing him more ample justice.

LORD SHEFFIELD.

A VOLUME might be written about this nobleman; but it frequently happens that where the most might be said, the least is necessary.

Every well-informed man in England, who has attended either to her political or commercial interests, knows the attention that Lord Sheffield has paid to both: he knows, also, in what a liberal manner he has given his assistance to his country, and what knowledge he has displayed.

Lord Sheffield first wrote on the commerce with the United States of America, soon after they became independent; and he has since written with great acuteness and knowledge of the subject, on our maritime regulations with respect to trade.

On our maritime regulations greatly depends the prosperity of this country, therefore no subject can be of greater importance; and its intricacy is fully equal to its importance.

To conciliate the interests of different nations to adhere to what is just and wise, has been the aim of Lord Sheffield; and while his views have been liberal and enlarged, his inquiries have been minute and particular.

As a literary man, the most intimate friend of the great historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, cannot require our testimony in his favour.

When the riots in the year 1780 threatened the destruction of the metropolis, Lord Sheffield, then Colonel Holroyd, was the person who did the most to stem the torrent. In fact his Majesty George III. and Colonel Holroyd, acted like men, when the ministers, the magistrates, and the citizens, were like "driven deer." His majesty being asked to allow measures to be taken to protect the palace, which they said was in danger, answered— "The magistrates don't do their duty, but I will do mine. Bring me my charger; I am king of England, and I will die king of England."— Colonel Holroyd acted with equal spirit as an officer at the head of his men; and when the house of commons was menaced by the populace in Palace-yard, he rose in his place, and gave Lord George Gordon, a member then present, to under-

stand, in plain terms, that if the banditti whom he patronized attempted to proceed to violence, the first man that should fall would be his lordship, and by his hand, laying it on his sword at the same moment, signified how he would fall.

The capital and the nation do not know how much they owe to the spirit, the genius, and the patriotic endeavours of Lord Sheffield, whose indefatigable industry has been equal to his other excellent qualities.

RIGHT HON. R. B. SHERIDAN.

The brilliancy of the abilities of Mr. Sheridan is known to all the world. That there is not in that world a man more consistent and true in his public principles than Mr. Sheridan, is evident to all who have attended to his conduct as a political man.

Mr. Sheridan has had the misfortune of being ushered into the world under pecuniary difficulties,

from which he had not the prudence, nor, perhaps the means of extricating himself, and from which his political associates had not the generosity or honour to liberate him.

Mr. Sheridan has sacrificed every thing but his honour to his party, and his party, to its everlasting disgrace, has done nothing for him.

No man has a better right than Mr. Sheridan to say, in the words of Goldsmith,

> For, what is friendship but a name,
> A charm that lulls to sleep;
> A shade that follows wealth and fame,
> But leaves the wretch to weep?

Whilst Mr. Sheridan may with great truth complain of the conduct of his associates, he gives, in his own person, a most legible lesson to mankind: for he shews that no talents, however great and splendid, will enable the man who possesses them to dispense with the common rules of prudence. Attention to those common rules, that the most stupid and selfish part of makind know and practice, might have made Mr. Sheridan the envy of the world, and the master of that party whom he has long served, and by whom he is now so shamefully neglected and forsaken.

How a man of Mr. Sheridan's talents, his long

tried services, and, above all, his political integrity, should not be in parliament, is unaccountable to us. It is a disgrace to more than a few. Such a person ought to be sent into the house free of all trouble and expense, as long as he is willing or able to give it his occasional attendance.

Mr. Sheridan did, on various occasions, quit his party when the interests of the country required it, and when the men of fortune, the independent men, whose property and all were at stake, looked on as if indifferent to the dangers of England, he, although far from independent, stood forward, at the risk of displeasing his friends, in order to ward off the danger*.

* The admirable conduct of Mr. Sheridan at the eventful moment of the mutiny in the fleet, will ever be remembered, to his honour, and with national gratitude. The Foxes, Bedfords, and Greys, looked idly on, when Richard moved from the ranks, and extinguished the flames that were about to consume the country. Persons who are not initiated in the mysteries of opposition, can have no idea of men calling themselves patriots, and the friends of their country, who exert themselves in the hour of danger in augmenting its difficulties. One would be almost tempted to think, that Mr. Madison, the American president, out of a true love of liberty, had made war on England (when she was defending the freedom of mankind) on the same principle that the opposition attacks the British ministry in the hour of difficulty.

This conduct was admirable, and was attended with admirable effects.

If Mr. Sheridan has given men a lesson of the necessity of prudence by his want of it, he has also given to political men an example of true patriotism. Will his lesson be read; or his example followed?

On every occasion Mr. Sheridan has shewn very uncommon presence of mind, a conciliatory disposition, and great address. Even in the greatest days of debate in the house of commons, when Pitt, Fox, and Burke were there, Mr. Sheridan was in the first ranks whenever he chose it; and now, were he to exert himself, there is no one that he could not leave far behind. Where is the man that could for five hours keep the house in silent astonishment with his eloquence, as Mr. S. did in the Begum charge against Mr. Hastings. That was probably the greatest effort, in the way of debate, that ever was or ever will be made*. It served to shew what Mr.

* It is probable that the period of long speeches is nearly over. They never did any good, and they cost the nation very dear. It was, in fact, but a sort of fashionable mania that carried debating to the length it was during the whole of Mr. Fox's political life. Lengthened debates began with the American war, and ended with

Sheridan was capable of doing, when his genius was accompanied with industry, and it shewed the vanity of long brilliant speeches.

Since the Prince Regent turned off his early friends, as they call themselves, and thereby saved the world, Mr. Sheridan has become the butt of his early friends. They seem to be in the merry mood of playing at passing the buffet to their next neighbour. Being, in fact, reduced to despair, having no hope left, opposition have no more occasion for the talents of Mr. Sheridan, and they cannot forgive him for his inimitable wit, and the ease and carelessness with which he bears the frowns of fortune.

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the administration of all the talents in 1807, that is to say, they lasted about thirty-two years. To discuss, and vote in consequence of discussion, is an excellent pratice; but in the first place, the votes are not determined by the discussions; and, in the second place, long discussions are not necessary. The debates of one night would sometimes fill a large volume, and the same subject has been debated many nights. The question of the slave-trade might be treated fully in a pamphlet, but the debates on it would fill forty volumes! The same is the case with other subjects; and, what is still more unfortunate, in the times of greatest difficulty, opposition have so harassed ministers, that they have, more than once, brought the state into danger.

We hope, and most seriously do we hope, that the Prince Regent will remember what the country owes to Mr. Sheridan, and that, in his old age, he will not leave him bare and naked to his enemies.

We know not the extent of the Prince's connection with Mr. Sheridan, but as he certainly owes to him many a pleasant hour, and some pleasant reflections, and probably some good counsel, we request his Royal Highness to let his own benevolence exert itself towards one of the most zealous and best friends of the throne and of the country.

We have nothing to do with Mr. Sheridan's private affairs; but we must observe, that while numbers, without either industry or talents, have been robbing their country to enrich themselves, Mr. Sheridan has neglected his own interest, and never let pass a single occasion of serving his country.

LORD VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH.

His lordship was for a number of years speaker of the house of commons, which dignified and difficult situation he filled so as to give universal satisfaction.

When Mr. Pitt resigned, his lordship, then Mr. Addington, became prime minister, and the short peace with France ensued; the evanescent nature of which was owing to peculiar circumstances, over which his lordship had no controul.

In the first place, England wished for the experiment of peace, and Mr. Pitt resigned in order to let the experiment be made; but the nature of the French government, and still more, of the French governor, rendered it of little duration. So well were the English nation satisfied of the impossibility of preserving the peace with France, that the war when renewed, became quite popular; or, in other words, people made up their minds to it, as a thing that could not be prevented.

Lord Sidmouth made peace, and was the minister when the war broke out again; but as he did not

seek to become prime minister by intrigue or parliamentary influence, as is usual; neither did he oppose the will of parliament by staying in after there was a coalition of parties against him; and while in office, things went on very well, though with less rigidity and inflexibility than during the administration of Mr. Pitt.

Lord Sidmouth is now minister for the home department, the situation for which, of all others, he is perhaps the best fitted, and for which also few men are perhaps so well fitted. His lordship has nothing harsh or unbending either in his principles or in his manner, and he is very attentive, without ostentation, to the duties of his office.

When there were such great disturbances in the northern countries, amongst the frame-breakers, (just at the time that Mr. Perceval was assassinated), the interior administration was very difficult, and Lord Sidmouth managed matters with equal firmness and moderation, and brought them to a happy issue. Few men could have done so well, for they are either too rigorous and violent, or too lenient and inattentive.

When peace comes, as it probably will now soon do, the home department will be the most important and the most difficult, and we have great hopes

that Lord Sidmouth will exert himself in the encouragement of internal industry and the employment of our increasing capital.

Lord Sidmouth is intimately acquainted with the work of Adam Smith on the Wealth of Nations; and, with his own good sense, with the assistance of his colleagues, and the great experience since Mr. Smith wrote, he will have no great difficulty of seeing what is best to be done, and of doing it*.

We have great expenses, and an increasing population, and there is no doubt that we shall have more trade and commerce than ever. The improvement of waste lands and enclosures from the sea on favourable parts of the coast, will be worthy his lordship's attention†.

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* Mr. Smith's book was published before the American war, since which time the most important transactions, with regard to subjects of political economy treated in that able work, have taken place. The American separation from England; the American paper money; the establishment of the sinking fund in England; the French revolution; the assignats, and other paper money; the stoppage of the bank of England in making payments in cash; and many other great events, such as the world never had before witnessed, have all taken place since Mr. Smith wrote: so that the subject is now much more ripe for investigation.

† The necessity of finding out fresh employment for capital will

His lordship is fortunate in having, in Mr. Beckett, under secretary of state, a most able and worthy assistant; and we hope not soon to see any change in that department, as we could not expect to see one for the better.

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be evident, when the progress of the sinking fund is considered: when it is also considered, that no more loans will be wanted, and that London, being over-built, there will be no means of employing much more capital in that way. One of the first things that brings on the decay of a wealthy nation is, when capital, ceasing to find employment at home, goes over to other countries. The improvement of Ireland will, indeed, occupy a considerable proportion of capital, and we hope attention will be paid to that interesting portion of the empire. The draining and enclosing of lands in England and Scotland may also employ some capital to great advantage.

SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, BART.

For the last thirty years the world has witnessed the indefatigable labours of Sir John Sinclair for the good of his country, both as a member of her legislature, and a patron of those improvements in agriculture which have done honour to the English nation and the present age.

The board of agriculture, which is a most admirable institution, is owing to the unremitting efforts of Sir John for a number of years; and when its funds were unequal to the expenses incurred, he made the advances necessary from his own private purse.

Sir John has not met with all the gratitude that might have been expected, or that his disinterested zeal, and, we may say, enthusiasm, deserved; because he has not been the tool of any party, but stood up boldly and independently for his country. He has

in fact, been an object of jealousy and dislike to both parties, though, in every case, he has ardently sought to promote the interests of his country in a most decided, and frequently to a most advantageous purpose*. Sir John has been accused of egotism and vanity, but we think without reason; on which we must be permitted to make a few observations. The subjects he treated of, and the inquiries he made, were of a nature that

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* In 1793, when the commercial distresses compelled government to come forward to the relief of the manufacturers, Sir John Sinclair, in the first place, was indefatigable in procuring the bill for their relief, by an issue of five millions of exchequer bills. He was named one of the commissioners for administering the relief; but finding the delays of office procrastinated the delivery of the printed exchequer bills, on the promptitude of which half the advantage depended; finding that, before a certain day, they would not be ready, and that, before that time, many houses must stop payment, he conceived and executed an excellent plan for their relief. Sir John applied to Mr. Pitt for written promises to deliver the exchequer bills. Having obtained these, he applied, by a circular letter, to all the bankers for advances of money on these promises. He obtained what he wanted, and relieved the manufacturers in time. Probably he saved the bankruptcy of fifty houses, and a loss of half a million by this wise, energetic, and ingenious mode, which deserves the thanks of all, and which it is impossible not to admire.

obliged him frequently to speak of himself. He acted by himself, though for his country and the general welfare; and therefore, without any intention, his writings are in the style of a man who likes to speak of himself, because he is frequently under the necessity of adopting that mode of expression.

No man that we have yet seen or heard of is without some fault or foible; and those who do the most, expose themselves the most to criticism.

The reviewers have acted unfairly by Sir John Sinclair; and, unmindful of the excellent intention that actuated him in all his labours, they have attempted to represent him as a man occupied with trifles, and calling public attention to minute details, not worthy of attention.

Had this public-spirited baronet acted like those writers who are so ready to criticise him, he would have amused the world with imaginary, or at best, inaccurate statements, dressed in high-sounding language, instead of toiling years to collect facts, and then giving them unostentatiously to the whole world.

Sir John is the first, and as yet by far the best statistical writer in this country; and it would be well if that great writer, Adam Smith, had been

equally attentive to the authorities on which his theories are founded*. The first labours at a new study are painful, and little qualified to gratify pride; they are like the collection of materials for a building, which obtains no praise: the architect who arranges them has all the merit. Had Sir John laboured more for pride, and less for utility, he might have obtained more reputation in his own country; but abroad his labours are fully appreciated, while many who think they stand high are altogether unnoticed and unknown, except in a small circle at home.

Few men have laboured for so long a period of

* There is no intention of comparing the two writers, but this opportunity is taken to state, that the world gives men credit often on very slight grounds. Mr. Smith displayed admirable reasoning powers, but the premises from which he reasoned were often almost as erroneous as those in Patrick Colquohoun's book on the police of the metropolis. Mr. Smith tells us the quantity of gold and silver used in Birmingham annually for plating, gilding, &c. Where he could learn that we do not know, for the best informed manufacturers never could give even a probable guess at the quantity. He says that furnished lodgings are cheaper in London than in Paris, or any other place; a complete mistake, though he gives a good and plausible reason why it ought to be so. He sometimes formed a theory, and his facts assumed the appearance, to his own mind, of supporting the theory. It is so with most theorists occasionally, though they have no intention to mislead.

years to increase the stock of public knowledge, and his labours have had the good effect that he intended. In a man of ample fortune this is a most laudable way of acting, and deserves the praise of all who wish well to their country.

On the important subject of waste lands he has given some information of very great importance. He has collected the useful facts, and been at great pains in drawing very distinct and intelligible conclusions, which deserve the attention of government, and of the landed proprietors.

The agricultural surveys and books that have been compiled under Sir John's eye, and principally by his great exertion, are too voluminous for any purpose except as matters of record and reference, or to be used as materials for practical instructions; and if Sir John would dedicate part of his time to compilation for practical use, he would render his country a still greater service than he has yet done.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH, KNT.

Amongst the gallant naval commanders which the British empire has furnished during the present important period, there is not one who, take him for all and all, has shewn either more genius, more bravery, or more energy, than Sir Sidney Smith*; but of all his achievements, the defence of Acre against Buonaparte, and the French army, is the most wonderful. It has one of the characteristics of a miracle. It is not, indeed, a supernatural

* It has not been, perhaps, remarked that, for about seventy years, that is, from the time the Duke of York (afterwards James II.) distinguished himself against the Dutch, till the year 1759, the English gained no honour at sea, though in the interval she had performed great feats by land. They humbled Louis XIV., and preserved the liberties of Europe, and though the hard fate of Admiral Byng has been much lamented, there is a coincidence in circumstances that must tend to make it be considered as a very important event in the naval annals of England. Admiral Byng's affair happened in 1757; and, since 1759, the French and all the other naval powers of Europe, have sunk in importance, till at last Britain rules the ocean without an opponent.

achievement; but it is so far miraculous, that we neither can account for it, nor conceive how it was performed. About eleven hundred British sailors defend an old fortress, of the construction of the twelfth century, (before gun-powder was invented), with the aid only of a number of Turks, against the most renowned commander in Europe, and this for eleven days, and even after a breach had been effected!!!

Contrast this with an event that took place nearly at the same period, namely, the taking of Seringapatam, by the English. A modern, strong, and highly fortified place. The English attack nearly about the middle of the day, and, fording a river that runs under the wall, mount the lofty breach, in spite of all opposition, in less than two hours.

It is impossible to judge so well of the efforts or actions of men, as by comparisons or contrasts; and it would be difficult to find, in history, two military events that serve so effectually to show each other to advantage.

The glorious efforts of the defender of Acre, and his success, make us appreciate more fully the bravery of those who so gallantly stormed a much more difficult fortress in so short a time; whilst the inability of Tippoo, though a brave man, to make

any effectual resistance, fills us completely with astonishment at the protracted, and at last, successful effort of the defence of Acre.

To navigate with ability, and fight a ship well, is all that is to be expected of a naval officer; but Sir Sidney Smith, Lord Nelson, Lord Cochrane, and a few more brave officers, have convinced the world that there is nothing which ingenuity can contrive, or courage achieve, that it is beyond the power of British seamen to accomplish.

As brave men are not flatterers nor courtiers, they do not obtain promotion so rapidly as men with half their merit who support a minister generally do; and unless an officer in the army or navy means to be a ministerial man, his seat in parliament is as a mill-stone about his neck.

Ministers are blamed for not advancing opposition members in the army and navy; but without adverting to any one instance in particular, we must admit that it is natural, and that, as a general principle, it is right; for it is not to be expected that men who disapprove of measures, will co-operate so heartily in their execution, as those who do approve of them. As it is impossible to know a man's manner of thinking completely, there cannot be so much confidence in those who disapprove of the

measures, as in those who do; and it is absurd to suppose, that so far as there is an opportunity of giving a preference, it will not be given by ministers to those who are of the same way of thinking with themselves.

The abstract philosophers of latter years do, indeed, speak of treating men according to their merit, without any such thing as favour or affection; but those abstract philosophers do not probably consider that passions are the elements of life, and that they not only do interfere in the mode of men's acting towards each other, but that they bias the judgment; so that, if one has a friend and an opponent of equal merit, and that an indifferent person would consider as equal, he will think the merit of the friend superior. The human mind is never unbiassed in what regards itself, even in the most enlightened; and a man who would not prefer a friend to an enemy, would not deserve to have one.

LORD CHARLES SOMERSET, M. P.

THIS nobleman is one of those whom it has pleased the members of opposition to persecute, to which they are chiefly led by the known mildness that is hereditary in the noble family of Beaufort.

Ever since Mr. Burke's memorable dressing given to Francis Duke of Bedford, the opposition gentlemen have been very cautious how they attacked any irascible men*. Those who are mild and above

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* When Mr. Burke obtained a pension during life, for services rendered to his country such as money could never pay, the most noble Duke of Bedford threatened him with a parliamentary inquiry. It was well for his grace that he gave warning, for Mr. Burke set his pen to work, and exposed the origin of the greatness and wealth of the house of Bedford, accompanied with a Philippic against the duke that served to stop the business, though only as a specimen of what was to be expected.

In mentioning the dressing by Mr. Burke, given to the Duke of Bedford, care is to be taken not to confound it with the dressing on Litchfield race-ground, mentioned by Junius; the one was moral, the other physical; the one with a goose-quill, the other with a horse-whip: the first was to a minister, the second to one who never was in administration.

retort, are the persons they assail. And they may thank experience for teaching them another lesson of wisdom; they do not attack singly, but in whole battalions, and a general outcry is excited, so that there is no danger to the assailants, particularly as they are now without a chief. The opposition has become a sort of republic since the death of Mr. Fox; for the nominal chief, Mr. Ponsonby, enjoys a sort of sinecure, while Mr. Whitbread and others do the business.

No family in the kingdom has produced more distinguished warriors or statesmen than the house of Beaufort, and few have ever served their sovereigns in so disinterested a manner, by which they have at various times incurred heavy misfortunes, but from which, in a manner almost unprecedented, that noble family has recovered itself in the most honourable manner*.

Lord Charles is now going out to the Cape of Good Hope, as governor, a place for which he is remarkably well adapted by his amiable disposition,

* The family is descended from John of Gaunt, and *his* royal descent is well known. To say that a family is from John of Gaunt, is to say that it is originally the same with that of the kings of England.

and the honourable disinterestedness that he possesses in common with the rest of his family.

The Cape being a very important, and a recently acquired possession; a rapacious or interested governor would be very dangerous there. It is, as the great Lord Nelson said, a half-way-house for those who go to the East Indies; and the governor has occasion for the exertion both of mildness and firmness, as the avarice of the natives and settlers are constantly at variance with the interests of the passengers to and from the east*.

In newly-acquired settlements like the Cape, and particularly such as are in any degree likely to be given up at a peace, the laws and regulations partake of the evanescent nature of the possession: they are not very regular, fixed, or certain, much therefore depends on the governor. Appeals to English courts are indeed permitted, but that can only be a

* It is to be hoped that his lordship will prevent the extortion that has taken place since it fell into the hands of the British. The Dutch, notwithstanding their avarice, supplied the shipping with provisions at a much lower price than when in the hands of the English. This was the case previous to the short feverish peace of Amiens, when the Cape was given up; and probably it is the same now that we have retaken it.

remedy in cases of great importance; and, in the ordinary administration of justice, much must depend on the governor, not only from his personal interference, but because the whole administration is generally found to correspond with the character of the governor, as in monarchies, where the sovereign is absolute. Is the sovereign mild? Then so are those under him. Is he severe? Then so are those under him also. The government of the Cape being of the sort described, it is of great importance to have for governor a man of correct conduct, mild manners, and who loves justice.

The choice of ministers could not have fallen on a more fit person than the nobleman who is now destined for that high and important office.

EARL SPENCER.

ONE of the great evils of party spirit is, that it frequently deprives the country of the services of those who are the most able to fill important situations.

Never were the affairs of the admiralty conducted with greater ability, and never with such assiduity and attention as when Lord Spencer was first lord of the admiralty. Never was such unexpected and inexcusable humiliation to the British flag, as it has lately suffered in the American seas*. Of all

* It is far from the intention to imitate those contemptible sowers of discontent who always magnify the last disaster, and describe it as the greatest that has ever been; but what is here said, is meant literally, and expressed intentionally. When hostilities broke out with the Americans, we had some idea that they might prove a match for us at land: and we knew that as we had but few troops at our disposal, and they might rise in a mass, there could be no disgrace in that: but at sea, where we have about one hundred times

the members of administration, the chancellor of the exchequer excepted, no one requires to have abilities for his office so much as the first lord of the admiralty. The weight in other departments falls on under secretaries of state; but nothing will do, nothing ever has done, for the naval department, but a first lord, with abilities adapted to the business to be done.

Earl Spencer was first lord of the admiralty many years, and they were years of glory to the country. It was then the great Nelson carried the British thunder to the shores of Egypt, and fought a battle which, from all the circumstances attending it, is, if not the greatest, the most glorious and interesting. The skill and intrepidity were uncommonly great, and the battle of the Nile had what naval battles most want to increase the interest they inspire— it was fought at the mouth of the most ancient river recorded in history; and on the coast of

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the navy; when all the navies in Europe, except our own, are rotting in their harbours, and we have not an enemy to encounter; yet we have met with nothing but defeat and disgrace in the American seas. If it is not the greatest, it is at least the most unexpected and unexcusable humiliation we ever met with.

the oldest nation from which arts and sciences sprung*.

Not only the coast on which it was fought, but the manner in which the British fleet arrived, the time of the day, and almost every circumstance is such as generally belongs rather to romance than real history. It is impossible, in mentioning the immortal hero who achieved so great and wonderful a victory, not to dwell for a moment on such circumstances; and in giving the portrait of Earl Spencer, the friend and patron of the hero, not to mention him. It would be doing justice to neither, for the connexion was highly honourable to both. Earl Spencer is by no means what is termed a party man, but he is a man of abilities, and one who has a decided opinion; and as his fortune is large, his mind independent, and learning and study his chief occupation, he has none of the temptations that most men have

* What is termed classical ground, and gives interest to so many battles, and other occurrences by land, never, except in this instance, gave any to a great battle at sea. Such has been the effect of this on the mind, that the battle of Trafalgar, though on a much more extended scale, (by which is generally reckoned the importance of a battle), sinks before the battle of the Nile.

to seek for office and emolument*; and he has never accordingly entered into any of those cabals, court intrigues, or political manœuvres, by which the richest and the proudest in the nation have frequently disgraced themselves.

In looking up to what are termed great men, that is, men high in rank and office, it is indeed a matter of great concern to see how eager numbers are to obtain places, and neglect their duty after they have succeeded. Earl Spencer was a most marked, and a most honourable exception: he made no efforts to obtain a situation for which he was the fittest man in the kingdom; but when once

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* It is one of the evils of the method in which ministers transact business at cabinet dinners, that it is scarcely possible for men who are not, as it were, of the same society, to act together. In other countries ministers only meet on business or ceremony; and though each mode has its peculiar advantages, yet has each its disadvantages; and such is the moderation of Earl Spencer, that if his lordship were merely to meet the present ministers at the council board, and co-operate with them in business, as first lord of the admiralty, there is little doubt but he might do it; but to become a table companion is a different thing. We do not attend enough to that consequence of mixing eating and drinking with business, in so frequent a manner as is practised in this country.

he was in it, he attended with a degree of punctuality as to time and laborious attention, and to the conduct and details of business, that scarcely another man in the kingdom, of high rank, would submit to, and which, to inferior men in office, would be out of the question. Such inferior men would think the attention infinitely beyond their strength, and the attendance infinitely beneath their dignity.

The pleasure of drawing this portrait of Earl Spencer is the greater, in that his lordship has never been one of those distinguished persons who have their merits blazoned forth in the journals of the time, till the public ear has been fatigued with hearing of them.

As a private character, as a father, and a husband, his lordship is a pattern to others in every station of life. He is a man of letters, and has one of the most valuable private libraries in the kingdom.

MADAME LA BARONNE DE STAËL HOLSTEIN.

One of the most astonishing literary characters of the age, and a lady who, to all that keen discernment and observation for which her own sex is remarkable, unites a degree of accuracy, and depth of research, which are rarely to be found even amongst literary men stiling themselves philosophers.

Madame de Staël thinks profoundly, without that formal pedantry which so frequently accompanies philosophical inquiry; and what is still more important and surprising is, that she seems to be superior to that determined and obstinate *adherence to some favourite theory*, which disgraces and destroys the works of so many modern inquirers.

Philosophers, as well as politicians, are divided into parties; they follow particular systems or

theories; and in place of exerting themselves in an unbiassed manner to discover what is right, they employ their time and attention to support that particular theory which they have adopted.

Mr. Locke, in speaking of this, very justly observes—"An inquirer should have an equal indifferency for all truths, I mean the receiving it, in the love of it as truth, but not loving it for any other reason, before we know it to be true; and in the examination of our principles, and not receiving any for such, nor building on them until we are fully convinced, as rational creatures, of their solidity, truth, and certainty, consists that freedom of the understanding which is necessary to a rational creature, and without which it is not truly an understanding: it is conceit, fancy, extravagance, any thing rather than understanding; if it must be under the restraint of receiving or holding opinions by the authority of any thing but their own, not fancied, but perceived evidence."

Such is the opinion of a most able inquirer into truth; and Newton and Bacon, two of the greatest men that ever lived, made experiments first, and then established theories; but modern philosophers have inverted the order, at least in the moral world;

and severely has the present race of men suffered by the errors into which they have fallen.

Madame de Staël, bred up and educated under the care of a father and mother of uncommon merit and virtue, has escaped the errors of modern philosophers, although reared up in the midst of them.

If at any time Madame de Staël fell into the errors of the Encyclopædists, her superior genius and understanding have since extricated her from them, for she now compares and weighs different opinions with that true spirit of impartiality which is necessary for the attainment of truth.

France was always famous for learned ladies, though we do not remember any equal to Madame de Staël; and England has produced a few. Fashion, the most despotic ruler on earth, has of late made our British ladies study philosophy, or at least attend philosophical lectures; and no doubt, but the arrival in England of a lady to whom the learned doctors of the Sorbonne academicians, professors, and members of scientific bodies, are few of them equal, will give new energy to their pursuits, as proving that there are no studies beyond the attainment of female capacity. But with great respect

and deference for those ladies who study chemistry and mathematics, and with no less respect for the despot fashion, we shall make a few remarks; observing, that although fashion rules as despotically, and more universally, than Buonaparte did before his fall, yet there is less danger in resisting her decrees, and there is no danger of the work being suppressed by authority, in consequence of a few free observations on fashions.

One of the favourite doctrines of the present day is, that education, and not natural genius, or innate talent, makes the great difference between mankind. This opinion is not a little connected with materialism, to which modern philosophers have a strange, and a very strong bias; but this theory is refuted by experience, and the lady of whom we write, is one strong example of the error; for if education could make such a writer, Madame de Staël would not have left all others at so great a distance. How similar is the education of students at the same university, and yet how unequal their acquirements? How often do men, who have received no regular education, rise above those who have had every advantage that education can give.

Shakespear studied at the loom amongst weavers, and Herschel amongst fidlers, yet the one became

the first of dramatic writers, and the other the first of astronomers.

Those who have paid the most attention to biography know that they who have the greatest facilities for study generally have the least inclination, and that opportunity rather blunts the desire of acquiring knowledge; and those who make observations with impartiality, and without any design to support a favourite theory, will ever and anon observe the seal of native talents as well as of inherent propensity and disposition, which qualifies certain persons for excelling in particular studies, and disqualifies others from attaining excellence.

The observer must be very inattentive, or very weak, who does not see that the female mind is not in general fitted for the same studies in which men excel; and, if it were, the beauty of the Creator's master-piece would be destroyed*.

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* The world is, no doubt, greatly improved by the invention of machinery for the abbreviation of labour; nevertheless that is, like every other thing, attended with some disadvantages, and one is, that the labour of women has lost its value: without any principle of avarice mixing in the sensations of the mind, yet where there is no reward, there is no labour: even gaming has no allurement, where there is nothing at stake. In very ancient times, the labour

In the elegant and lighter walks of literature, there have been many ladies who have greatly excelled; and where taste, elegance, and fancy are the principal acquirements necessary, they are well calculated to excel; but the abstruse sciences appear to be beyond their sphere, and Madame de Staël is a great and an extraordinary exception.

In addition to great natural genius, the circumstance of being brought up under the immediate eye of Madame Neckar was greater than can be estimated. The talents of Mr. Neckar have at one time been the admiration of all Europe, and at another, his character has been invidiously aspersed by those who were not capable of appreciating his abilities, and who were not willing to acknowledge his integrity and good intention.

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of women was of very great value, as both sacred and prophane writers testify; and even till within the last two centuries, it was sufficient to induce ladies to be industrious; but it is now absolutely nothing, and of consequence there is no industry amongst them. The tapestry of Matilda, the consort of William the Conqueror, still exists in Paris, and the labours of the beautiful and unfortunate Mary Queen of Scotland, ornament the walls of the palace of Scone till this day. Though this cause for change of manners has attracted very little attention, yet it must produce important effects.

If Mr. Neckar had had the management of the finances of any other nation but France, he might probably have succeeded, or, perhaps even in France, at another period, he might have re-established order; but, like Mr. Pitt, he was unfortunate as to the time and circumstances under which he exerted his talents; and both those ministers might have exclaimed, in the words of the preacher, "The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, but time and chance happeneth unto all men;" and on their tombs should these words be engraven in characters, that he who runs may read, and that weak mortals, who are the sport of fortune, may not always be judged of from their success.

Mr. Neckar, owing to his elevated situation, his great wealth, and his literary labours, had at one time more than his share of fame. How, then, when opinion vibrated, could he fail to be assailed by more than the usual number of enemies? When time has matured opinions, and brought facts to light, Mr. Neckar's character will stand high. No honest man, with good intentions, could be aware of the evils that the revolutionists were preparing for France*; and no sooner had their extravagant

* It was reported at the time, and gained credit amongst the ig-

conduct thrown a shade over their prudence, though their villany still remained concealed, than Mr. Neckar did what he could to restrain their excesses, and prevent the ruin which ensued.

The virtues of Madame Neckar, and her abilities, were less known, but she was a lady of uncommon merit. The writer of this portrait was acquainted with a Mr. Gyot from Geneva, who knew Mademoiselle Curchad, or Courchad, (the maiden-name of Mrs. Neckar) in her early years, when she was in

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norant, who are the most numerous class of society, that Mr. Neckar was leagued with the Duke of Orleans. That they were both the favourites of the people at the same time is true; but the duke had obtained popularity by bribery and intrigue, Mr. Neckar had got it by a long course of tried integrity. There was a great similarity between the beginners of the French revolution and those who conducted the great rebellion in England, wherein Charles I. perished on a scaffold. The good and well-intentioned, who had resisted the king at the beginning, as soon as they found that the destruction of that unhappy monarch was their aim, became his friends. Mr. Neckar wished to reform abuses, and he knew better than almost any one how necessary it was to do so; but no sooner did he find what was intended, than he did every thing in his power to serve the unfortunate king. He pleaded his cause with great eloquence and energy from his retirement, and bore testimony not only to the purity of the intentions, but to the soundness of the understanding of Louis XVI.

high reputation both for the endowments of her mind and the beauty of her person*.

The suppression of Madame de Staël's work in France is not at all to be wondered at: it possesses too much merit, and speaks too many home truths for the present ruler of that unfortunate and degraded country.

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* Though personal beauty is a secondary object, yet every anecdote respecting persons of merit is acceptable, and worth preserving.

When a painter named Leo Tard, in his way from Italy, passed through Geneva, he was employed to paint a fine female to ornament some public building. He searched Geneva for the best figure and face to copy from, and he chose Mademoiselle Courchad, who, by public request, sat for the picture. This anecdote is given on the authority of Mr. Gyot, and better could not be desired.

MARQUIS OF STAFFORD.

A NOBLEMAN who possesses one of the most splendid fortunes in this country, but who does not mix a great deal in politics, though he speaks well when he chuses to enter upon a subject.

When Lord Gower, he was ambassador in France, and visited the royal family after they were in confinement, which makes it rather strange that he should have joined the ranks of opposition.

His lordship must remember what an uncomfortable state that was, when the men who had revolted against their sovereign bore sway. He may remember, when he saw forty galley-slaves enter Paris on a triumphal car, for they passed by the garden of his hotel*.

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* The galley-slaves of France, &c.—When Lord Gower, now Marquis of Stafford, was ambassador at Paris, one Collot D'Herbois, one of the greatest ruffians in that country, procured the release of forty galley-slaves, who had been mutinous soldiers, and, to make

His lordship is a knight of the garter*, and his family has risen to their high rank since his present Majesty came to the throne.

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the triumph of vice and infamy complete, proposed to bring them to Paris on a superb triumphal car, drawn by twelve white horses, harnessed with red Morocco trappings and gold buckles. The same antique car on which the remains of Voltaire had been brought to be deposited in the Pantheon. The slaves, ashamed of the ceremony, instead of mounting the car, walked as modestly as such men could by its side, and as the procession passed by the Hotel de Monaca, where the English ambassador lived, he came out, and, it is said, doff'd his hat to the miscreants.

* That order was then oftener granted to commoners than to peers; but now, it is never granted but to men of high rank and great fortune, Sir Robert Walpole being, we believe, the last commoner who wore St. George's cross, and the Earl of Chatham the only nobleman, not very rich, who has had that honour since. It is to this change in the object of the institution, that the Marquis of Stafford owes an honourable decoration, which neither Nelson, nor Duncan, nor Abercrombie, have worn, and which the brave Black Dick, (Earl Howe), after being the first to break down the French navy, obtained with great difficulty, when age had bleached his head and bended his shoulders. Not knowing secrets of state, we cannot explain causes; but why an honour Earl Howe obtained with difficulty, and late in life, the Marquis should receive easily and early, it is not easy to divine.

He is a nobleman of taste, and has a most excellent gallery of pictures, to which he admits the public with a very honourable liberality.

His lordship is a great lover of music, and occasionally entertains his guests with the fine and captivating notes of Madame Catalani, which he pays for at an extraordinary high price*.

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* The price is nothing less than to receive at his table a Frenchman called Monsieur Vallabrique, who is said to be the Syren's husband; but who, at all events, is her companion, though a very unfit companion for a British peer. This is what we call paying a pretty high price.

PRINCE STAHREMBERG.

A DIPLOMATIC character of talents of the first rate and highest order, who has constantly endeavoured to save Europe by the same line of politics on the continent, that Mr. Pitt and the British ministers pursued in this country. In these wise views, he has long had an able and faithful coadjutor in Prince Metternich, who had the honour of his master the emperor constantly in view; but till lately, when the great current of events changed, their efforts were to little purpose.

The house of Austria is one of the most honourable in Europe, and the emperor is an excellent prince; but the jacobins of France, and Buonaparte, are such men as princes had no conception of, and even their ambassadors were not aware of their deceit, villany, and desparate resolution. The generals of the old school were equally unprepared for resisting the great energy, enthusiasm, and new modes of fighting that were practised when the revolution began.

Under the portrait of Prince Metternich, we have said nearly all that applies to the Prince Stahremberg. Their honourable character and politics nearly coincide, and their political endeavours for the interests of their master, and the welfare of Europe, are the same. Happily for mankind they prevailed on the emperor to take a decided part after the late armistice, when the imperial manifesto was issued, that does such honour to him and his advisers.

Had Austria remained neutral, Buonaparte would probably have remained master of Germany, as much as ever, for it was with great difficulty that even with the assistance of Austria he was defeated by the allies at Leipsic; and if Austria had joined Buonaparte, the civilized world must have been overrun by the French banditti completely, and for a long period.

Prince Stahremberg, assisted by his able coadjutor, prevailed on the emperor to persist in a steady and firm, but moderate line of policy, which has saved mankind from the most imminent danger, and for which those ministers never can be sufficiently praised, or adequately rewarded.

Honourable and good intentions have at last triumphed over villany, bad faith, and rapacity; and

perhaps one of the greatest embarrassments of the fallen tyrant at this time is, that he knows he is surrounded and supported by men who are without honour, and who will be ready to betray him, whenever they find it conducive to their own safety or advantage.

RIGHT HON. EARL STANHOPE.

One of the most ingenious inventors that this country ever produced, and in a great variety of ways, his genius and knowledge being almost universal. As a political character, he is guided by a true love for his country, and for mankind. Though sometimes his opinions appear strange and eccentric, they are always dictated by the purest principles, and guided by the best intentions.

About the year 1780 he took a very active part with those gentlemen who were pursuing measures in order to obtain a reform in the representation of the commons house of parliament; he was chosen

chairman of the Kentish committee, and was one of those who were deputed from that county to the numerous meetings of deputies which assembled in London. Soon after this we find him in the house of commons, joining the opposition in their efforts to procure peace with America; and whenever the cause of American liberty was discussed, he never failed to be present, and to give it his support; and his lordship was one of the memorable majority of nineteen, which put an end to the American war, and to the administration of Lord North. During his seat in the house of commons, he made a variety of unsuccessful attempts to prevent bribery, corruption, and unnecessary expenses at the elections for members of parliament; rightly judging, that by putting it in the power of independent country gentlemen, of moderate estates, to offer themselves as representatives of the people, without endangering the ruin of their fortunes, a gradual reform would introduce itself into parliament, by measures that could not tend to alarm those who were afraid of innovation.

During his Majesty's illness in 1788, when the subject of a regency was discussed, Earl Stanhope (then in the house of lords) gave a decided support to those measures of administration which went to

establish the principle that the two houses of parliament had a right, in case of a vacancy of the throne, or an interruption of the personal exercise of the royal authority, to make provision to supply the deficiency.

As Earl Stanhope is a man of an independent mind, and above being guided either by personal interest, or party connexions, he shares the fate of all such men: parties pay little regard to him; and therefore it may displease, though not surprise us, that many excellent things which he has suggested, have not even met with decent attention. When the subject of the slave trade was first discussed in the house of lords, Earl Stanhope was one of only three peers who voted in favour of its abolition; he had afterwards the satisfaction of being one of above one hundred, in that house, who carried it into a law.

One of the most important measures in which he ever succeeded, was the overthrow of the system of passing *ex post facto* laws, which regularly took place, to an immense extent, every session of parliament. By a decision of the judges, confirmed by the house of lords, it had been settled, that the common words, "from and after the passing of this act," in any act of parliament, did not refer to

the day upon which the royal assent was given, but to the first day of the session in which the act passed, from the old fiction of law, that the whole session of parliament was to be considered as one day; so that, in case of parliament meeting in November, a person might be indicted for an act done in the month of May following, in consequence of an act of parliament which did not actually pass till the subsequent months of June or July. To this an effectual remedy was applied by the act of 33d George III. c. 13, which was brought in by Earl Stanhope, "To prevent Acts of Parliament from taking effect from a time prior to the passing thereof."

The war which broke out between Great Britain and France, a few years after the revolution in that country, and which by its supporters was contended to be necessary for the maintenance of law, property, and religion, as well as for the preservation of the independence of other nations, was constantly and vigorously opposed by Earl Stanhope, who, amongst other objections to it, contended that the contest would make France a military nation, which might lead to the subjugation of the greater part of Europe.

Though Earl Stanhope stands as high in the political world as any man can expect who stands alone, he stands still higher as an inventor, a scientific mathematician, and a natural philosopher. An account of his inventions and improvements would far exceed our limits, and be somewhat foreign to the purpose of a Political Portrait; we must, however, observe, that from the age of nineteen, (when Earl Stanhope published a Treatise on Pendulums and the dilatation of Metals, which obtained the prize of the philosophical society of Copenhagen), to the present day, his lordship has been constantly inventing, or making improvements in different branches of mathematics and philosophy, on electricity, music, naval architecture, and particularly in the typographic art.

As all objects of extensive public utility are to him objects highly interesting, he has applied himself to the improvement of lamps, and he has pointed out the means of increasing the light, and at the same time diminishing the expense. No lock is perhaps so secure as the simple and ingenious one he has invented. Various improvements in agriculture, steam engines, iron railways, inclined plains for canals, wheel carriages, ship capstans,

water mills, hydraulic machines, and gunnery, are amongst the number of his successful pursuits.

Earl Stanhope is constantly employed in making experiments, and his lordship is the greatest inventor in England, or, we may say, in any country. It is the lot of men of genius who produce many inventions, to undervalue their own productions: they grow so numerous, that many of them are no longer talked of. On the contrary, men who produce but few, take more pains to make the most of those few things which they do produce. Nobody is surprised to hear that Lord Stanhope has invented something curious, he invents so rapidly.

As Lord Stanhope has sometimes been in opposition to ministers, and sometimes with them, always judging for himself, and doing what he thought for the best, we have entered into his parliamentary history in a manner that is not necessary with the adherents of either party; but the last great political act of Earl Stanhope stands above all the others.

When Lord King attacked the credit of bank notes in a legal manner, and in a very serious way, by refusing to take them in payment as the rents of his estate, the Earl of Stanhope rose like the good

genius of Albion to defend the interests of his country. It was then that we admired most that ardent spirit, and that genius that averted the evil which impended over England, the then prop of the civilized world*.

Earl Stanhope deserves infinite credit for the way in which he conducted himself in that affair. Nobody who knew him could wonder at his lordship contriving a remedy for the evil complained of; but his uncommon attention to the circumstances of the case deserves notice.

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* Lord King perhaps meant well, or at any rate, had not any intention to do harm, though, as appears by the writings of Montgaillard, (the organ of Buonaparte), the hopes of France were wonderfully excited by the conduct of his lordship. Lord King was represented as the person who had set fire to the temple of Ephesus, and the destruction of England was predicted as at hand. For further particulars see the portrait of M. Montgaillard.

Lord King no doubt must feel considerable mortification at being even for an instant considered by the enemy as their surest ground of hope for ruining England. He must feel some shame at having so mistaken the true state of things; for he can scarcely suppose that Buonaparte mistook the tendency of his proceedings; and he may thank Earl Stanhope for having converted evil to good, and made him the blind instrument of serving his country.

Lord Stanhope knows perfectly well the theory of the money system, what the French call *la systeme monétaire;* and, without going round and round the question, and fatiguing us with demonstration on demonstration, he came to a good and practical conclusion by a sure and easy road*; and the danger in this case was, that he would have followed the pure theory, which he so well understands, and insisted on bank notes becoming a legal

* One of the greatest distinctive marks of genius is, that of treating a question in a plain and short manner, while your men of labour and pains take volumes to discuss a simple question; and even then, without coming to any very distinct conclusion. We may compare the man of genius to a strong man, who does easily and effectually what the weak with trouble and difficulty does imperfectly. This puts us in mind of what a plain country farmer said, who came to London for a short time, and went to the gallery of the house of commons, one day when a great debate was expected. It was for the first time, and perhaps the last; and it was late before either Mr. Pitt or Mr. Fox rose. The house seemed half asleep, and the poor farmer was sadly disappointed, till about ten o'clock, when Mr. Pitt began. "And what then?" said a friend. "Why," said the farmer—"It was like the lighting up of Solomon's temple; all seemed dark before, and gloomy; but till three in the morning, when Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox were speaking, I never once thought of any thing but the great men before me."

tender: but his patriotism, it is probable, made him connive at the pious fraud of doing the same thing in a concealed indirect way. Be this as it may, the country, and the whole world, is indebted to Lord Stanhope for converting a great danger into a great benefit; and we are happy in having it in our power to shew a desire to do his lordship justice.

It is a great pleasure to have to record such an assemblage of good qualities as unite in the person of the present Earl Stanhope. His suggestions as a member of the legislature have not met with that attention which they would have done if they had come from some man of another way of thinking on political questions. This is much to be regretted; for whatever connexion there may be between party and opinion, there is none in nature between party and an inventive mind. Inventions stand alone, and on their own merit, like gold or diamonds. The mine from which they come neither adds to, nor diminishes their value. As a real lover of his country, no man stands higher than Earl Stanhope, though his education at Geneva, and his genius so different from that of other men, give a peculiarity to all that he says, and to all that he does.

HON. CHARLES STEWART.

A YOUNG statesman who has not long commenced a diplomatic career, but who is of great promise. His despatches are written with uncommon clearness and elegance. He is brother to Lord Castlereagh, and has a great deal of that frank openness of character which distinguishes his lordship.

The opposition writers, who so long found fault with Lord Wellington, and attempted to turn his military skill into ridicule, and who have uniformly magnified the victories of the French, and palliated their iniquities, are now busied in representing Lord Cathcart, the Earl of Aberdeen, Mr. Stewart, and Mr. Thornton, as men who are held in very little esteem at the head-quarters of the allies; but the contrary is the case, as we can state from good authority.

It has seldom happened that so many powerful sovereigns have been in one place, and combined in one enterprise, as at present; and it is evident, that Britain could not be adequately represented in such a case, but by a member of the cabinet. It is from

this very evident cause, and not from any want of talents in the persons already resident at the different head-quarters, that Lord Castlereagh has gone over; besides, those writers who delight to find fault with the British government ought to know, that each of the ambassadors sent over to the continent, having a special mission to one sovereign, can be of no importance at a general conference.

The mission of Lord Castlereagh has, then, nothing to do with the talents, or want of talents, of the gentlemen representing England to the different sovereigns engaged in re-establishing the liberties of Europe, though the true state of the matter is, that they are all, without exception, looked upon by the different sovereigns as it could be wished they should be. They are considered as men of talents, integrity, and good intention, having the greatest desire to promote the success of that cause which has led the allied sovereigns into the field.

M. M. TALLEYRAND.

THIS Proteus is descended from one of the first noble families in France—A courtier favoured by the unfortunate king, and a bishop; betrayed his order, disgraced his cloth, and laboured to destroy his sovereign.

An intriguer of the first class, he has been reckoned as being a man of great abilities; but those who did so conceive him, were ignorant of the case.

" The French revolutionists certainly did nothing that shewed talents, except talents for destruction; and in that sort of work a little talent goes a great way. Even amongst the revolutionists, and the monsters who, as the Abbé Raynal said, by a species of infernal magic, had converted France into a cave of robbers and murderers, Talleyrand was not conspicuous, except for extravagance of opinions. He did not distinguish himself, like many others, either by eloquence or abilities of any sort.

When permitted to return to France under Buo-

naparte, Talleyrand became his favourite minister*, and it is then that he is supposed to have displayed his uncommonly great abilities; but even this we are ready to doubt, or rather to deny.

In the revolution, the French held a superiority over other nations, independent of the abilities of any man, or set of men. They had risen up with jacobin energy and jacobin morality, whilst the other nations of Europe, ignorant of the change, and unprepared to resist it, continued in the old way. It was like a well-prepared and desperate ruffian attacking a peaceable unsuspecting man, when half asleep, and unequal to resistance.

It is true, that it took an amazingly long period

* Talleyrand came over in the last days of Louis XVI. with the French jacobin ambassador to London, and intrigued in every way, in order to revolutionize England. He was sent out of this country soon after the ambassador; but, as he was afraid to return to France, he went to America, and remained several years at New York, where he lived on the bounty of some of his countrymen, who were in better circumstances than himself.

By his intrigues he got back to France, and had the address to pass himself off as a man of great and profound skill. Hauterieve, who was in America at the same time, and is really a man of abilities, assisted him in this, and in persuading Buonaparte that they knew how to ruin England.

to rouse Europe to a sense of her danger, and still longer to that energy which was necessary for resistance; but, till she was so roused, and so prepared, the success of the French was infallible. It was just as natural, (or rather necessary), that the French should conquer other nations, as that the harder metal should penetrate the softer when they come into collision. We may judge now of the facility with which the French succeeded, when we consider the difficulty that has attended the bringing on the reverse their arms have met with.

What share Talleyrand might have in the aggrandisements of Buonaparte, it is difficult to say; but, till the treachery to the royal family of Spain, he is supposed to have guided and advised him.

Let us suppose that it was so, where was the merit? Did Talleyrand think that an empire so extensive and so hastily erected could be of long duration; but particularly, when supported by coercive measures, and running contrary to all the propensities, habits, and prejudices of the people, of whom it was composed, and by whom the different subjugated states were inhabited?

If the depth of Talleyrand's political sagacity could not discover the evanescence of such an

empire, we can assign to it but a very inferior rank.

The French revolution, being properly appreciated, and the ignorance of its nature amongst other nations taken into account, it is very clear that the period when Talleyrand and his master triumphed was the least surprising of all. The French armies were immense in numbers, and the soldiers were the most experienced in Europe, when Buonaparte placed himself at the head of that immense Colossal power. The nations around had previously lost courage as well as force; for they had been beaten when the armies of France were inferior both in numbers and in discipline. Bribery, corruption, fraud, and force joined, could not fail to triumph for awhile in such a situation of things: but the basis was wrongly laid; for the coercion of other nations depriving the people of all liberty and all comfort, (the plan on which Buonaparte always proceeded), was certain to occasion revolt the first opportunity, and, before any distant period, the destruction of the empire.

The attack on Spain was certainly, in point of policy, a most egregious error, besides being a great crime; but if Talleyrand was accessory or adviser

to what was done previous to that, he was far from being a profound politician; for every step taken by the chief who governed France led evidently to present embarrassment and future destruction.

A wise minister would have made the Rhine the boundary of the empire, and would have consolidated the confederation of princes on the right bank of that river, by making them easy and happy, and the people contented. The continual changes of the arrangements which the despot had made were highly impolitic. As he pretended, like other impostors, to be infallible, he ought not to have made a king of Holland, and then dethroned him. He ought not to have made his brother Joseph king of Naples, and then transferred him to Spain, removing Murat from the duchy of Cleves to the throne of Naples. People even of very moderate penetration saw in all that the appearance of a state of things that could not long remain. They saw in it a sort of fermentation that must produce destruction, and lead to real and immediate evil.

In the first place, it made all those chiefs who were dependant on the caprice of Buonaparte uncertain and dissatisfied, and it accustomed the people whom they governed to consider them as only

temporary rulers; so that it took away every principle of stability from every part of government.

We have said, that we do not know how far Talleyrand might be the adviser of Buonaparte till the invasion of Spain; but, as it is on account of his real or supposed advice given previous to that period, that he obtained the reputation of a profound politician, we must and do assert, that if he so advised Buonaparte, he did not deserve such a reputation. From the time that Buonaparte became first consul he committed a series of errors that, in a man who had the address and ability he had formerly displayed, are quite inexcusable; and for a great part of that time Talleyrand was his supposed adviser.

We may divide the political life of Buonaparte into three parts—The first, from his obtaining the command of the army of Italy, till he became first consul; the second, from that time till the treaty of Tilsit; and the third, from the treaty of Tilsit till the present time.

The great actions, though attended with still greater atrocities, that signalized the first period, obtained for Buonaparte the reputation of a general of

first rate talents, and he continued for some time afterwards to deserve the character.

The second period was dedicated to the gratification of that inordinate ambition which has been his ruin; and the third period has been the completion of his madness, his folly, and his visionary schemes.

By this division of his life, we find that his really great achievements were before he was assisted by Talleyrand; that Talleyrand assisted him in his first extravagances; but that he would not go all the length in folly and wickedness that his master wanted.

As it is very possible that this cunning and unprincipled man may still have a part to act on the political stage, we request those who have to take care of the interests of Europe, to be on their guard against his bad faith, and not to over-rate his abilities; for they are only those of an intriguing gambler, who, as a branch of a noble and very ancient family, disgraced his rank; as a minister of religion, betrayed the church; and, as a favoured subject of a virtuous and good king, rebelled against his sovereign and his benefactor. Whatever is wily and wicked may be found in this apostate priest, this pretended statesman, and profligate courtier. Hatred

and contempt, unallayed by any respect for talents, ought to be his portion.

European cabinets have hitherto been inclined to give great credit to Talleyrand as a profound statesman; and it is possible, that, though his master's reign may be near an end, yet Talleyrand may have art enough to preserve his consequence: we think this the more possible, if not the more likely, that he is supposed to have endeavoured to dissuade Buonaparte from some of his worst and latest extravagances and crimes.

It is of importance, then, to unmask this profound statesman, and undeceive the cabinets; and we shall shew, that, not only has he been wrong in detail, but that the principle on which he proceeded, if he encouraged and directed Buonaparte till 1807, as is supposed, was radically wrong, and betrays not only a wicked mind, but a weak head, and a great ignorance of the history of mankind.

Honour is of a similar nature with virtue, though springing from another root; it also produces nearly the same effects. There is, however, one great difference in respect to the circumstances under which they are found to flourish. Honour may flourish under the most despotic governments, and may be carried to the greatest height under kings whose

power has no limit but their will. Virtue, on the contrary, flourishes most where there is freedom: but, as republics cannot flourish without virtue, so monarchies can neither have prosperity nor stability without honour. The whole of Buonaparte's reign has been distinguished by treachery, and an utter contempt for every thing honourable.

This contempt for honour was coupled with unlimited ambition, which is another enemy to the stability of empires.

Montesquieu observes, that the advances of a government to despotism are so many approaches to danger. The history of the Roman empire is, of this truth, a great example. In proportion as the emperors became tyrannical, did they become dependant on their mercenary troops; as is the case at the present day in Turkey and Barbary.

In addition to contempt for honour, and giving loose to a despotic disposition, both of which are enemies to the prosperity and stability of a state, Talleyrand and Buonaparte struggled for an extensive increase of territory, which is more ruinous still.

The extent of the Roman empire, though gradually acquired, and rendered solid by all human means, was evidently the greatest cause of its

destruction*. The same was the case with the more crude empires of Alexander and Charlemagne. If, therefore, a prince wants stability to his fortune, and to establish a dynasty, (the modern mode of expressing the establishment of his race), he will be honourable in his dealings, moderate in his manner of governing, and limited in his ambition for extent of empire.

A frantic sort of energy, which assumed the appearance of power and strength, has sometimes existed under despotic monarchs, who aimed at very extensive power. Louis XIV. of France, and Charles XII. of Sweden, are two examples, *but* they were like two brilliant and evanescent meteors —two transitory flashes passing athwart the political horizon, leaving both kingdoms in a state of weakness and debility. Those monarchs, however, were both honourable; and the men by whom they were aided, were honourable in a high degree. Had they been otherwise, France must have been divided,

* An anonymous writer, about the middle of the last century, says, "Were the Gallic monarch as uncontroulable as he seeks to become, and conqueror of all the countries he desires to reign over, no means would be so likely to put an end to his family and their domination, as those that he is so assiduously applying for their establishment in greater glory."

and Sweden become a desert, after their exertions were over.

The ancient government of France was guided by a principle of honour which, in adversity, rescued it from humiliation; and, in its moments of success, made it one of the most brilliant objects in modern times. Buonaparte and Talleyrand were not ignorant of this, but they wanted wisdom, moderation, and honour themselves; and, therefore, when they established a legion of honour, in imitation of those who understood and valued it, they bestowed their base-born badges on the most determined ruffians that the revolution had produced.

Opinion is free, even under the eyes of the most despotic tyrant; and every one felt internally, that Buonaparte's legion of honour consisted of those who had most distinguished themselves in the arts and practices of murder, plunder, and every species of crime that was suited to the taste or the interest of Buonaparte.

The man who on neutral ground way-laid, and afterwards murdered, the last descendant of the great Condé, might very properly have been decorated as a chief of banditti, but could never belong to a legion of honour. The consequence was, that there was no honour in wearing the decoration,

which, nevertheless, some honourable men have condescended to do, when the chief of the banditti was in the zenith of his power*.

The Spaniards and Portuguese were both powerful while they remained honourable; but when they forgot the road to honour, they sunk in rank amongst nations: nor is it surprising that honour is so efficacious in producing beneficial consequences, when it is considered, that its action on the mind which is guided by it, is constantly in operation, and equally fearless in every danger that does not incur merited disgrace. It never balances an instant in any circumstance between what ought or ought not to be done, if it is not perfectly honourable; the same is the case also with virtue: whereas, where honour or virtue are not, there is a vacilating, temporizing, and flexible conduct that is incompatible with lasting prosperity.

In the history of England we shall find, that the most honourable sovereigns were the most prosperous, as well as the most respected. Edward III.

* It would be useless to lose time in shewing, that the ambition of too extended empire, and the want of good faith and honour, were the direct causes of the misfortunes of Buonaparte. So completely is that the case, that the Allies dare not trust him in a single instance, and see no safety while he exists.

Henry V. and Elizabeth, are the most distinguished for honour; particularly Edward and Elizabeth: and their honour consisted in preferring to every thing, the welfare of their people*. How different was the institution of the garter for the black prince and his noble companions, from that for the murderer of the Duke D'Enghein, and the plunderer of Hamburgh and Holland!

Even Machiavel teaches princes the value of honour. Yet this great, this profound statesman, Talleyrand, is ignorant alike of the principles and the practice; and, to sum all up, we will maintain that, though artful and cunning, his only claim to the title of a profound statesman is, that he has not erred quite so widely as his unprincipled master.

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* Of the sovereigns of England, not one was so honourable as his present Majesty. He had not the failings of age into which Edward III. fell, nor the youthful vices of Henry V. nor the stain of betraying a relation, and a foreign queen, who had sought her protection, like Elizabeth. In honour and integrity, no public or private man ever surpassed the present king of England; and never did any kingdom stand so high amongst others as England now stands. The troubles and misfortunes of this reign came from external causes; the honourable, manly, and generous manner in which those troubles have been met and resisted, is all owing to the spirit of the monarch, and of the nation he governed.

MARQUIS OF TAVISTOCK.

A YOUNG nobleman of a very amiable disposition; free from most of the vices and frivolities that are prevalent amongst young men of rank. His abilities are said to be good, but he has modesty to keep him back, without necessity to push him on. The cause of opposition, embraced so ardently by the house of Russel, is now in such a state, that there is little temptation to make an effort to support its fallen greatness.

The example of the present Duke of Bedford, the father of the noble marquis, who carries politics to no extreme, may likewise produce an influence on the son; and, indeed, it were to be wished that, in times of difficulty, those noblemen of great rank, fortune, and influence, who will not assist government, would abstain from opposing it.

Our bitter enemy, Buonaparte, has speculated much on the co-operation of opposition; and it is said that he felt more pleasure at seeing the Duke of Bedford at his levee, than all the other English

oppositionists that went over to pay their duty to him during the short peace of Amiens, when he was planning the enslavement of Europe, and the total ruin of the British empire.

RIGHT HON. GEORGE TIERNEY.

Mr. Tierney is a politician of considerable abilities; but appears to have some incompatibility of temper that makes him inconvenient as a coadjutor; and his peculiar way of acting has more than once rendered his political principles suspected*. In

* *Mr. Tierney* has been blamed even by his friends whom he disappointed. When he fought Mr. Pitt, he was hailed as the champion of democracy; but, in all his public transactions, something arose to vex and mortify. In his contest for the borough of Southwark, he exposed his opponent, and reproached him with a favour he himself had received, (a share of a loan); a sort of conduct against which all men set their faces. As a military man he was very

matters of finance, Mr. Tierney has a degree of knowledge that might make him useful; and when we wish to be ruled with a rod of iron, we shall wish to see him chancellor of the exchequer: but, thinking as we do, that the *suaviter in modo* is of great importance, and feeling that our burthens are heavy enough without that unbending regimen we should expect under Mr. Tierney, we heartily wish him well, without having the power of displaying, on a great scale, that rigidity which he showed as a colonel of volunteers.

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despotic; as a treasurer of the navy, he pocketed his money, sailed in his state barge, and enjoyed his place like any other courtier; and he has been the best snarler in the house of commons ever since. &c

RIGHT HON. NICHOLAS VANSITTART,

CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

THIS gentleman bids fair to be immortalized, like Eratostratus, who burned the temple of Ephesus. He has laid his hand on the sinking fund established by Mr. Pitt, the progress of which has astonished the world, and preserved England. The temple of Ephesus was one of the seven wonders of the ancient world; and, amongst the numerous wonders of the present age, may be well placed an establishment which enables the country to pay off above fifteen millions of debt annually; that is to say, a sum equal to the revenues of the country before it was established, and greater than the free revenue of any kingdom in Europe.

By laying his finger on this sacred institution, Mr. Vansittart has most probably laid the foundation for the future necessity of himself, or his successor in office, laying thereon a heavy hand.

Indeed, the value of the plan depended entirely on its inviolability.

The arithmetical calculations of accumulation by compound interest are so certain, and so simple, that were it not for the difficulty of adhering inviolably to the execution through a long period of time, one single family might easily absorb the disposable wealth of a whole nation, and even obtain possession of a great part of its landed property*.

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* In the accumulation of money, by compound interest, there arises a great difficulty; for when the sum becomes large, the administration is apt to become expensive and wasteful: whereas, *in reimbursing*, the effect is quite the contrary; for expenses are saved as the progress advances.

For the better information of those who do not amuse themselves with calculations, we shall simply state, that at five *per cent.* in 150 years, money multiplies 1000 times; and in 200 years, to above 16,000 times. So that if 1,000,000 had been sunk at the time of the revolution, it would, by the year 1828, that is, in about fifteen years from this time, have paid 1,000,000,000; or, the small sum of £50,000 annually applied, would have done the same. We give these familiar and round statements, not wishing either to give ourselves the affected airs of able calculators, or to puzzle those who do not like the study of figures.

Ridicule was attempted to be thrown on this progressive increase,

Before the seven-years war there was a sinking fund, and before the American war also*; but on both occasions the ministers of the day laid their unhallowed hands on that establishment, which, if they had not done, the debts of the nation would not this day be half of what they are. The greatest merit of William Pitt, the most admired, and the most admirable part of his conduct, was, the not only preserving the sinking fund inviolable, as at first established, but that when a war unexpectedly

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when Mr. Pitt established his plan, and the calculations of a French schoolmaster were published, which at the time made many people think the accumulation was chimerical, like that of Alnascar, the Persian glass-man. The rapid progress of the fund, however, convinced the most sceptical; and all, except the wilfully deaf, were obliged to hear. The Earl of Lauderdale, in his answer to Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations, re-published the caricature calculation of the French schoolmaster, about twenty years after it had been forgotten; and, like most of Joe Miller's jests, it went down with the rising generation as a clever thing.

* Money was become so plenty before the American war, that the interest fell to three and a half *per cent.* on good security; and meetings were held of monied men, to petition ministers not to let the accumulation proceed further. The monied men were then going about to seek employment for money, as we have since seen Manchester weavers and their workmen seeking employment for their hands.

broke out in 1793, he attached, to every future loan, a sinking fund, bearing as great a proportion to the capital as the original fund. That great minister, so far from following the example of his predecessors, and destroying his own work, made every effort to preserve and strengthen it; and in his life time he met with his reward.

Lord North found every succeeding loan more difficult to raise than that before, during the American war*; and all enterprise on the great scale ceased. Mr. Pitt found money more easily obtained loan after loan. He belied all the predictions of gloomy calculators on finance, from the great David Hume even down to Lord Lauderdale; and thus, while the nation obtained unexampled loans with unexampled facility, private enterprises, and public works, went on with greater rapidity, than at any former period, even during times of peace.

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* Dr. Price, who was in the confidence of Lord North, and knew all the financial difficulties of that minister, told the author, that he believed, had the American war lasted another year, Lord North would not have been able to raise the money by a loan. Making every allowance for the gloomy mind of Dr. Price, and his opposition to the American war, no doubt can remain that the difficulties accumulated.

It might have been expected that, with such experience before his eyes, the chancellor of the exchequer might have kept off his prophane hands from this sacred institution, to which the nation owes so much. He might have known that no sophistry of argument, no intricacy of calculation or arrangement, would blind us to the violation of a principle; or convince us of the safety of abandoning success, to launch out into the sea of experiment.

The nation escaped the danger with which it was threatened by Lord Henry Petty when he was chancellor of the exchequer; on which occasion Mr. Vansittart aided and assisted his lordship in making the British house of commons comprehend the business. That was a sort of *hocus-pocus*, what they term, in France, a *tour de passe-passe*; but it only wanted plain sense to see into the deception; just as a plain man, with a solid understanding, is convinced that the tricks of a Comus or a Breslaw*, are a deception, though he does not deny the appearance of reality; and is totally ignorant of the manner in which it is performed.

* Two famous performers of legerdemain.

Mr. Vansittart has at least one merit. He is more direct in his mode of proceeding: there is less of that charlatanism in the plan, less of the mountebank in the man on this occasion; and the danger will be sooner seen*.

Should, indeed, the war be speedily terminated, we may escape the danger; but when Mr. Vansittart touched the sinking fund, there was no immediate prospect of that.

Blaming Mr. Vansittart for rashly touching this grand scheme, to the success of which the nation owes so much, we must at the same time give him credit for his zeal in the service of his country, though we cannot forget that he assisted the talents-administration with all his own, and abetted the scheme of Lord Henry Petty, of which it is to be presumed that he either never approved, or that he now sees his error, since he has not revived that complicated abortion in finance.

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* Mr. Neckar ruined the French finances by procrastinating the day of difficulty; but he did it unknowingly, and the nation and the court both hailed him at the time as their deliverer. His pompous and well written publications gained him the confidence of the rest of mankind: but it is probable that he trusted to restoring all in time of peace: his removal, however, prevented the execution, if he had such a design.

MR. WAITHMAN.

A MAN who is a fair specimen of a democratic orator, and who consequently has a considerable number of admirers. The talent of speaking is, with some men, natural, and it does not require much cultivation to enable a popular orator of this sort to shine amongst the common council, or at a dinner at a tavern. The task is the more easy, that he takes up nothing but subjects pretty well understood, and views them on the side that favours the prejudices of the majority of hearers.

In every possible government where men have liberty of speech, there will be orators like Mr. Waithman, men who are flimsy, but persuasive; and who, without understanding the true policy of a state, have sufficient capacity, with the assistance of others, to point out some defects both in the constitution and the administration.

The easiest of all tasks is that of a critic; and to criticise and find fault with establishments formed by such imperfect creatures as men, requires only the lowest rank of intellect. To improve on that

imperfect system, on the contrary, requires a very high degree of intelligence: it requires natural capacity, assisted by experience, and a knowledge of history, as well as an acquaintance with the nature of the human mind.

In the French revolution we had a most memorable example of this truth. So long as they could find fault with, and destroy existing establishments, the French reformers went on with the most astonishing rapidity. They quoted the best authorities, too, for their proceedings and their projects; but when it came to their turn to create, and to erect, what did they do? They proceeded, in the first place, with great difficulty: most of their arrangements were found impracticable in execution; and those that were practicable were productive of ruin and misery to the nation.

Mr. Waithman, and those who flock round *his* standard, are much such reformers as those who started up in France, so far as their intellect, and power of improvement goes; but they have not quite the same excuse the French had, for they have a dreadful example before their eyes; the French had none, at least none either so striking, or so near their view.

Mr. Waithman we believe to be a very honest,

well-intentioned man, which is the greatest praise that can be given to a London shop-keeper; and as he sometimes speaks as if he understood Latin, we shall only say to him *ne sutor ultra crepidam.*— This will apply as well to a man who sells shawls, as to one who sells shoes; and to a common council man, as well as to any other common kind of man.

The people who put the daggers into the hands of the French assassins, and who set to work the guilotine, were well-intentioned, honest citizens; but they knew not what they were doing till it was too late, and they became the victims of their own works; they lighted a fire, and perished in the flames: and so would Mr. Waithman and his friends, if they were not counteracted by the vigour of government, and good sense of the nation at large.

It may seem illiberal to refuse merit to a man who happens to be a retail shop-keeper, but there is no illiberality meant; neither is it because he is a retail shop-keeper, but because he speaks as if he bore the whole burthen of protecting the people from the oppression of government, on his shoulders.

Mr. Waithman assumes the imposing attitude of a clucking hen, spreading out her wings in a barn yard, to defend her young chickens. We, the inhabitants of this metropolis, look only like so many

protégées of Mr. Waithman, who defends us from the hovering hawks of government, who want to suck our blood*.

* If it were not for Mr. Waithman, Mr. Cobbett, the Editor of the Whig, and a few such national heroes, we should soon be in as pitiable a case as John Gilpin, when he had lost his wine bottles, his breath, his dinner, his hat, and his wig. The great difference is, that there a linen draper was the sufferer, here a linen draper is the defender, who protects us from suffering; and as he is a most classical man, and his friends admire the French heroes, we shall quote to him two lines made by a very facetious alderman, on two of the most famous French revolutionists.

"Robespierre, do ye see, was Buonaparte's precursor,
"Boby was a bad fellow, but Boney is more worser.
"Bow, wow, wow, &c."

We mean by those two lines to show, that revolutionists *gets worser* and *worser* as they *goes* on.

COLONEL WARDLE.

This ci-devant ephemeral politician perhaps ought not to have a place in a work dedicated to the portraits of *living* characters, as he is probably removed from the political scene for life, upon which he never would have appeared, but owing to a strange concurrence of circumstances, when he for once acted a prominent part.

If ever there was a contemptible and malicious conspiracy against the character of any man, it was that headed by Colonel Wardle, against the Duke of York. Under the mask of patriotism, he was seeking only his own private interest; under the garb of a pure moral character, trying to bring to light the irregularities of a public man, and expose the foibles of a husband, he was himself guilty of deceit and prevarication, as a public man, and of very unbecoming conduct as a husband.

The house of commons, and the nation, thought that Mr. Wardle and Mrs. Clarke were strangers to each other; and they did every thing to make it be believed there was no confederacy, no underhand

connection, no underhand motives, and, least of all, no personal enmity: but how did it finish? After the house of commons and the nation had been led into an error in the most complete manner; and after, under that influence, they had formed a wrong judgment of the duke, they found that Wardle and Mrs. Clarke were very intimately connected: that Mrs. Clarke was bribed to act as she did, and that every mean artifice was employed to ruin his Royal Highness.

The manner in which all this was discovered, was not less disgraceful than the discoveries made.

Wardle, in order to bribe Mrs. Clarke, without doing it at his own expense, (it plainly appeared), lent his person as a visible or ostensible purchaser of furniture, whilst he carefully abstained from words or writings that he conceived would make him liable. But here he was beyond his depth: he was obliged to pay the money, with the loss of character and popularity; and what was not less galling, the nation by degrees saw its error, and the injustice it had done; and the duke regained, even with the multitude, nearly all that he had lost; while most men of candour and common sense, who have lived in the world, looked to themselves, and freely confessed that the great wonder was, that the

commander-in-chief escaped from the fiery furnace with so little injury. Those who remembered a Ligonier and a Sandwich, shook their heads at the ignorance and injustice of the proceeding, from the beginning to the end. To complete the character of the colonel, though he may be very wise, and very cunning, he acted a very silly part; for if money or popularity were his objects, he might, with the greatest ease, have turned the circumstance to the highest advantage, by paying the upholsterer, behaving honourably to Mrs. Clarke, and keeping up the deception. His mind was too little—he was too interested; and his fortune and character are equally injured by the experiment he made in exhibiting himself as a patriot on the public stage. Nothing can equal the absurdity of the shew; unless it be that of Mr. Coates in the character of Romeo*!

* This Mr. Coates is well enough known now, but for the sake of those who may read these portraits at future times, we add, that Mr. Coates is a gentleman of fortune, a Creole, and an amateur actor, who has several times exposed himself, to the great amusement of the public: he appears to be a good-natured man, who has mistaken inclination for ability.

MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

A NOBLEMAN of very ordinary talents in ordinary affairs, but calculated to display great abilities on great occasions. Such men are rarely to be met with, because, to great talents must be joined enlarged views, and courage to encounter difficulties*. In the characters of men we find, that those are the most rarely to be met with who require the union of several different qualities; and from this it arises, that great statesmen and great generals are much more rare than great artists, where one sort of merit or excellence alone is required. Excellent scholars are much more numerous than good writers, because

* It is generally considered as a reproach to men of abilities to be outwitted by men of mediocrity in ordinary affairs, though nothing is more natural, or indeed more to be expected: for it would be as absurd to expect a mind made for great affairs should exert itself on trifles, as that the great strong man should handle small objects with the delicate and nice fingers of a lady. We do not indeed see an impossibility in a great mind occupying itself on little things, but we must allow it to be both unnatural and uncommon.

the good writer must add genius and observation to learning. We frequently meet with men of learning who have no genius, and often with men of genius who have no learning, but we do not often meet with the man who unites both in his own person.

Lord Wellesley is the third governor of India who has distinguished himself; Lord Clive had great talents and great views, he did every thing on an enlarged scale; Mr. Hastings had great views, but not equal talents. His lordship has both, and it is not a little singular that, though this is the time when the peace of India might be the most likely to be disturbed, both owing to the state of affairs in Europe, and to the immense extent of the British possessions in India; yet, since his lordship was there, India has enjoyed peace in a solid and tranquil manner hitherto unexampled.

The great additions made during the administration of Lord Wellesley, the brilliant appearance of his government, and the facility with which he seemed to treat matters of the greatest importance, added to the rapidity with which he proceeded in every undertaking, made slow solid men of business (and of such England is principally composed) imagine that nothing his lordship did was solid or

lasting. Such was the aspect of the transactions in India to the gazing multitude, but such it was not to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, who knew his lordship well, who duly appreciated the services he had rendered, and who supported him against the numerous enemies whom merit and success are always certain to bring into existence.

The marquis was, like most men of enlarged minds, occupied on great objects; careless and indifferent about what the envious might say, he went straight forward to his point, without any pretence or hypocritical professions. Without oppressing the natives, or flattering the directors, he greatly extended in a solid manner, by splendid conquests, our Indian territories.

Though the great additions made in the time of Lord W. gave reason to apprehend more troubles than ever, their not occurring shews the wisdom and solidity of the arrangements; as for their magnitude, that is evident of itself. Since his return from India, the cabals of the British cabinet prevent great views from having their scope, and it is a pity that at such a crisis there should be such a circumstance; but Lord W. is the man who, if a time of great danger arises, will be called upon. With those sort of men a neglect of personal interests is a leading trait of

character, and this Lord W. has in an extravagant degree. He might have amassed great wealth, and he might have kept it; and, if he were remunerated in proportion to his services, he would be a man of immense revenue*. But his mind flies too high for that; like Mr. Pitt, his patron, his pattern, and his friend, his ambition is not for wealth: on the contrary, like most men of great minds, his attention is occupied on other objects. This we do not mention to his praise, for it is a defect, it is a great disadvantage; but still it is the defect of a great man and a great mind. It is one of those defects for which men of little minds have no pity, they have no sympathy for a failing from which they are generally altogether free, and of which they have absolutely no idea.

The great talents of Lord W. made him a mark for those who endeavour to cripple the English government; and the ill-fated and unfortunate Mr. Paull, whose political days were few and evil, availing himself of his knowledge of India, attacked his

* Suppose, like Palmer of the post-office, he had two and a half *per cent.* on the increase of revenue whilst it lasts, deducting interest, he would have about 80,000 a-year!!

lordship*, but without success, and finally to his own confusion.

It is, however, to be observed, that the force by which we hold India, the manner in which we got possession, and by which we are obliged to keep it, prevent a governor-general from being estimated by the laws of Britain, which, fortunately for us,

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* The abettors of the French system are all a sort of confederates, or adepts, that second each other in a most astonishing manner. They seem like the musicians of an orchestra, all to have their eye on the same book, and to play the same tune. As the French, ever since they set up for reformers, and the enemies of other nations, knew that great part of their superiority arose from employing men of abilities, so they endeavoured to weaken their opponent always by attacking such men of abilities as might be likely to be employed against them. Lord Wellesley was attacked in this way, and on this principle, but it is probable that Mr. Paull did not know whose battle he was fighting. He was an unlucky, awkward, and ill-natured man; but there is no reason to think that he would abet an enemy of England openly or privately. The petition which he had presented to Lord Wellesley in India, appealing to his justice, to which, he said, "no man ever appealed in vain," put a stop to his clamour and accusation. It was unanswerable; for either he spoke true, and Lord Wellesley was a just and good governor, or he spoke false, and was a flattering, mean, and despicable man.

are engraved on the hearts of Englishmen, and by which we are apt to judge of every thing that passes in every country*.

Lord Wellesley's conduct when employed by his Royal Highness to compose a ministry, did him the greatest honour. He appears to have had no personal feelings, but to have tried to do the best for his country, and even on this occasion his enemies have been silent.

* Perhaps one of the greatest errors, as well as misfortunes of such a man, is to be eternally praised by writers in the newspapers. Lord W. does not want a *Vetus* to torment us with long heavy columns in his praise, and the truth is, that whatever his merits may be, as he is not acting, they are not an immediate object of consideration.

SIR HENRY WELLESLEY.

Brother to the great Lord Wellington, and representative of the British government to the Cortes in Spain, who, during the absence of the king, govern, as being the only original constitutional part of the Spanish government which is at present in that kingdom.

Sir H. Wellesley shewed business talents in Italy under his other brother the Marquis, and was very properly chosen to go to Spain, as the most fit person to act in concert with his brother, who was to command the British army there.

Sir Henry has had a very difficult situation, and has acquitted himself with ability and address. He has been occasionally counteracted in a manner very disgraceful to those Spaniards who, for private ends, opposed the liberation of their country.

Whenever we look at the affairs of Spain, the brilliant victories of the Marquis of Wellington, and the magnanimity of the British nation in making such great sacrifices to fight their battles, absorb all other considerations. With such a com-

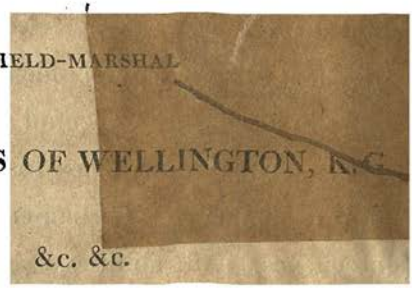
mander-in-chief, and such splendid achievements, the ambassador's work was greatly facilitated, but still he has had difficulties without number to encounter.

There was a great party at Cadiz in favour of the French, thinking, probably, that in the end they would succeed, which the bad success of Sir John Moore gave them some reason to suppose might be the case. The speeches in the British parliament likewise emboldened the friends of France in Spain. They could not put much confidence in British arms, when (as Montgaillard said) English members of parliament, men of wealth, consequence, and abilities, predicted that they would all be either taken prisoners or driven into the sea.

Opposition orators surely do not calculate on the difficulties they bring on their country by such speeches, which have cost England a great deal of blood and treasure during the present war.

Now that the French are expelled, and there is no fear of their returning, there will be few traitors in Spain. It is a mistaken idea to think that those sort of traitors are bribed. Some of them may be so; but the far greater part are men who are acting for safety in case of the enemy triumphing. They

are men of little courage, and who have more prudence than patriotism; and so it is found in all civil wars in every country, and is not peculiar to the Spanish nation.



THE MARQUIS OF WELLINGTON, K.G.

The brilliant victories achieved by the Marquis of Wellington, the great and happy alteration that he has produced in the situation of the civilized world, have engraved his portrait on the mind of every thinking man.

As, however, the merits of his lordship, and the services he has rendered, require to be considered at one view, we shall give a rapid sketch of them, however unequal to the task of doing justice to so great a general.

When the British army first went to the assist-

ance of the oppressed people of Spain, a gloomy and dark cloud hung over mankind. Europe was threatened with worse than gothic darkness and African slavery. Hope of resistance was fled, and the despot of France was only meditating how the most easily to enslave the small remnant of Europe that remained free.

The nations of Europe, like the companions of Ulysses in the cavern of the Cyclops, waited trembling till their hour should arrive; and Britain, though victorious at sea, was held as a contemptible power at land. The enemy of mankind, by his numbers, the experience of his officers, and the violent means he took to supply his armies, looked with contempt on a few British troops sent under the command of an officer who had only the reputation of behaving with gallantry in the wars of India. The defeat of General Moore, a general of high reputation*, augmented the confidence of the

* How General Moore obtained the high reputation that he did, we never fully could understand, neither could we ever see the necessity of so precipitate and fatal a retreat. He advanced too far, and he retreated too fast. The enemy being behind the high Biscayan mountains on his right, and no means of getting before him, except by a circuitous route on the left, it is inconceivable how he should

French, the despair of the world, and the divisions that existed in the oppressed country of Spain.

Under all these adverse circumstances, and with very inadequate means, did Sir Arthur Wellesley undertake the defence of Portugal. There was a strong and an important party amongst ourselves, who predicted nothing but misfortune to our arms; and who looked on the little army of England in the peninsula, as a forlorn hope.

Such was the state of things when Lord Wellington began to act. His bravery was never doubted, but his skill to cope with the marshals of France; his ability to appreciate the difference between an army of native Indians, and of veteran French; were held in doubt even by his friends.

As modest as he is brave, and as skilful to wait for opportunity as he is rapid to see and seize it when it occurs, Sir Arthur baffled every effort of the enemy. Their skill and their numbers were ineffec-

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be so mightily afraid as to make his men undergo a fatigue in flight that was worse than three pitched battles. That expedition, be its merits what they may, completed the despair of Europe, and the triumph of French pride and insolence.

tual against his still greater talents; and what has been the glorious result*?

Gradually as light dawns in the morning after a night of darkness and storms, the French lost their reputation for being invincible, and the English army made itself feared wherever it came, for its brave leader never led it but to victory.

The French despot himself, foiled on the peninsula, and afraid to stake his fame on an encounter with a general he had affected to despise, determined on a more extensive conquest at the other extremity of Europe, and this brought on his fatal expedition to Moscow†.

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* Europe was certainly at its last effort, and had it sunk under, England could not have resisted many years, without commerce and with increasing taxation. Now Europe is saved, and the brave Wellington first made a breach in the wall that was to confine mankind as in one great gloomy prison.

† Buonaparte surprised all men of sense when he turned from Spain to attack Russia. To finish the conquest of the peninsula, or to give it up before undertaking a new enterprise, was what any able or prudent man would naturally have done. Buonaparte knew his power depended on his reputation for invincibility, and therefore he turned to Russia, thinking to make a great conquest; and, as if he despised Spain, expected, that in the mean time the En-

The same bravery on the part of Wellington that compelled Buonaparte to seek fame, victory, and conquest, in another quarter, shewed the brave emperor of Russia, and his generals, that the French were not invincible; and they resolved to meet the shock with their native bravery, and with the firmness and desparation that such a cause naturally inspired.

The French eagles winged their flight to Russia, but they winged them never to return; and French arrogance met with a still greater humiliation than any recorded in the annals of mankind.

The world knows the circumstances, and the happy result; the tyrant is now a second time returned to his capital; and the man who aimed at subduing the world, appears not to be able to defend himself.

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glish finances, or the means of recruiting the army, would fail. At all events the Russian expedition furnished an excuse for not marching in person against Lord Wellington, which the despot was afraid to do. It is indeed evident he could not, with his character for a great captain, have remained inactive in Paris, while his generals were defeated one after the other in Spain; so that either to march against Wellington in person, or undertake some other expedition, were the only alternatives. Buonaparte preferred the latter, and Europe is saved.

The victories of Lord Wellington have become more and more brilliant, and such is the confidence reposed in his bravery and skill, that for the last two years, proud of having such a commander, we have never, even in the most critical moments, doubted of his success; and his lordship, after defeating all the great generals that were sent against him, has been the first to invade France, and retaliate upon her for the sufferings of mankind*.

Europe is now full of hope and rejoicing; the liberties of mankind are insured: and a better order, and a more stable one than ever before existed, is expected.

Such is the change produced: the happiest, as it is also the most complete change that mankind

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* The immense numbers of the French armies have several times wrested from Lord Wellington the advantages and fruits of victory, but never the victory itself. Perhaps there never was any general so constantly victorious, who found his difficulties so great after he had beat his enemy. This was obvious all through, but never so vexatious as after the battle of Salamanca. Even after the battle of Vittoria, the difficulties were great from the same cause, and the bad success of General Murray on the east coast of Spain: yet the great man never uttered the language of reproach or complaint.

ever saw; and which has been begun by, and is in a great degree owing to, Lord Wellington.

Contemplating the great actions, and their still greater consequences, we are lost in astonishment, when we consider the inadequate means to effect so great a purpose.

Lord Wellington is one of the most humane generals to his soldiers, and one of the best bred gentlemen to his officers. He is the friend and patron of merit, and the admiration of all who hear of him from a distance, as he is adored by those who approach his person!

We must leave off this portrait, in which there is no shade; it is a mere outline, and a mere outline it must remain, for where there is no shade, there can be no picture.

SAMUEL WHITBREAD, ESQ. M. P.

Since the death of Mr. Fox, Mr. Whitbread is in reality the leading member of opposition. Mr. Ponsonby is indeed the nominal chief, but he is only nominal, for the great labour falls entirely on Mr. Whitbread. There is not, in truth, any person now in the house so able to speak well on whatever subject occurs, if we except Lord Castlereagh; and it must be admitted that the chief orator of opposition never, at any period, had so hard a duty to perform.

When the French revolution first broke out, it put an end to those insignificant party squabbles that had occupied parliament, and amused the public, for nearly half a century.

The great question of the fate of Europe gave importance to the business to be transacted; and one of the first consequences to the opposition, was a division amongst its members.

Mr. Burke, one of the most profound politicians that this country ever produced, was the first to see the danger, and to give the alarm. With all

the warmth of imagination he possessed, and all that attachment to his party for which he had through life been distinguished, till he saw the danger of his country, never did he attack those wild democratical theorists who sought to overturn all governments, and abolish all religion*, under the pretext of rendering mankind free, virtuous, and happy.

On that occasion the old English whigs divided, and the ranks of opposition lost some of their most able members; but still it was strong and powerful. The ultimate consequences of the revolution were still unforeseen, and the wisdom of the interference of Britain in continental affairs, was a subject of warm, and of important debate. There was a wide

* Mr. Burke at first saw the French revolution in a favourable light: he approved of the attempt of a civilized people to ameliorate their government. So true was this, that when Thomas Paine, (that infidel emissary of the French), came over to England, with the virtuous but mistaken Duc de la Rochefacault, Mr. Burke was the person who introduced Paine to Mr. Windham: this we state on the authority of Mr. Windham himself, and it is quite sufficient to prove that Mr. Burke was no enemy to the French revolution, until he foresaw the danger with which it was likely to be attended.

field for attacking ministers, when every day was augmenting the weight of our public burthens, and adding, by splendid conquests, to the power of France.

A leader of opposition then had materials on which to work*; but now his task is like that of the

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* Opposition have always set a greater value on the influence of the press, than the party in power; and one of the greatest errors of Mr. Pitt's administration was, in carrying indifference to public opinion further than any of their predecessors: one of the consequences of this was, that England was believed, and probably ever will be believed by the greater number, to have interfered in the French revolution out of a wanton wicked design to make it fail, and to produce the ruin of that government, and of the French nation. Ministers were so incessantly accused of this design, and were at so little pains to repel the accusation, that it at last became useless to deny it: the fact, however, was very different.

The first external opposition to the French revolution was agreed upon between a number of sovereigns on the continent, at Pilnitz, in 1791. To this treaty England not only refused to accede, but was supposed to be so differently disposed, that the king of Sweden actually stipulated for sending his contingent of troops by land, giving as a reason—*That he believed that England would oppose their passage by sea.* Holland, our ally, was actually invaded, and English honour engaged in its defence, before a single step was taken to interfere with France; and so far was the English cabinet from manifesting any such intention, that both the navy and army were

Israelites in Egypt, when their cruel task-masters ordered them to make bricks without straw; and while they diminished their means, augmented the quantity of their labour.

After seeing France plunder and overrun neighbouring nations for above twenty years; committing murders unprecedented in their atrocity and extent abroad; and robbing and swindling the proprietors and creditors of the state at home; we at last see that vain and boasting people reduced to defend their own capital against the united nations of the world, with the wretched remnants of its own exhausted population, reduced to bankruptcy, and groaning under despotism.

We see England at the end of the same period, during which she has honourably kept every engagement; wherein she has liberally paid those who would fight for the liberties of mankind; and boldly resisted those who aided in their overthrow. We

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reduced to the lowest peace establishment in the beginning of 1792, when hostilities were actually begun on the continent. Those facts it would have been very important to have made known in every way possible; but that was neglected to be done, and opposition always, in their debates, spoke of the policy of the war when they ought to have deplored the inevitable necessity that brought it on.

have seen England, single-handed and alone, stand against the general enemies of the human race, (till at last the world has rallied round her standard); and with such unimpaired credit in finance, that the very premium (the *bonus*) on the last loan made to support the good cause, is more than double the assets of the bankrupt bank of France*!

Under such circumstances Mr. Ponsonby may well stand aloof; and indeed it requires all the talents, the indefatigable industry, and the ingenuity of Mr. Whitbread, to preserve the appearance of any thing like an opposition; and, to do him justice, he makes the most that can be made of the means that are left still at his disposal.

The predictions of opposition have all failed with respect to the invincibility of the French—the folly of our defending Spain—and it has been at last discovered, that the British ministry have no objection

* This contrast is not too strong; but we are unable to do justice to the subject; Mr. Burke should have lived to paint a picture of the fallen state of France, and the proud situation of the British empire. Whatever may befal the despot who governs France, the world is saved; and, under Providence, England has been the chief instrument in its salvation.

to making peace when it can be done with honour and safety.

Mr. Whitbread, whose integrity is beyond a doubt, (and who has good sense with good intentions), has indeed refused to aid the scattered remnants of opposition in their last useless and ungraceful attempt to embarrass ministers; but we think it would be worthy of his candour and good-nature, if he would *admit, once for all, that, though contrary* to probabilities and expectation, yet Britain has followed the best line of policy; and that all friends of the country should unite in putting a period to the misfortunes of nearly the whole of the civilized world*.

Mr. Whitbread has shewn himself in a very amiable light, in a case where most of his companions, we think, have deserved blame.

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* In the portrait of Montgaillard, a Frenchman employed to write for Buonaparte, we have given extracts from a book written in 1811; which speaks exactly the same language about peace, about English bank notes, and the affairs of Spain, that opposition did here at that time. If the members of opposition have not read that book, we recommend its perusal to them; particularly to Lord King; they would then be inclined to suspect that they may possibly have mistaken the true policy of England.

In the portrait of Mr. Sheridan we have freely given vent to the feelings inspired by seeing a man of such brilliant talents, and such steady patriotism, neglected by the party to whom he has sacrificed so much: and we with pleasure record it, to the honour of Mr. Whitbread, that he has deserved as much praise for his unremitting, efficient friendship to that gentleman, as most others have blame for their indifference and neglect towards him.

In the vexatious and disagreeable affair between the Prince and Princess of Wales, Mr. Whitbread took a manly, a conciliating, and a good part; and we have only to say, that we hope he will never countenance those who, following the old plan of opposition, are already anticipating the advantages that arise from setting an heir apparent at variance with the reigning prince.

Mr. Whitbread may be assured that some of his friends have such intentions, but we hope he will not lend them his assistance; and when we consider his virtues as a father of a family, and as a husband, we think that this hope is not without foundation.

It would be deviating from the avowed plan and intention of this work, to finish the portrait of so interesting a member of the legislature as Mr.

Whitbread is, without attempting to lead him, to use his influence to the advancement of some beneficial objects*.

Mr. Whitbread has nothing of the puritanical pretensions of some saints, who captivate the voice of a great number from their apparent sanctity: neither does he adopt the jargon of modern philosophy, leading to materialism and infidelity. He has the plain open character of an English gentleman, exerting his abilities for the interest and advantage of his country; and as such we address ourselves to him.

Mr. Whitbread has attended a good deal to the education of poor children, and teaching them to read and write. Perhaps we do not agree with him and many others, in regard to the advantage of men doomed to industry and privation being

* The avowed object of these portraits, as explained in the preface, is to obtain attention to matters of importance, that could neither be introduced as desultory essays, nor be listened to in the form of memorial; but which, when united with the portraits of living characters, will be read and considered: it would be a deviation from that intention to omit, in the portrait of Mr. Whitbread, such suggestions as that gentleman is likely to favour with his attention.

excited to read and write: but we consider that question as decided; and that men of liberal opinions have determined that education should be extended to the lower classes.

Agreeing, then, in that opinion, or at least not wishing to contest the matter, we must be permitted to say, that if so taught, they ought to be furnished with such books as will make them good members of society; happy in their own minds, and useful to the community. We say that it is the bounden duty of those who encourage public schools for the indigent, to provide proper books for them, as much as it is for a person who intrusts a child with a deadly weapon, to take care that he does not use it to the injury of himself, or of others*.

The experiment of extending reading and writing

* The higher orders, who pay for their own education, will do as they please; but certainly, when the expense of the education is furnished by public or private contribution, those who so contribute may make it a condition to put into the hands of learners, such books as meet with their approbation; and it is the more necessary that they should do so, that the bias of human nature is, unfortunately, to study what it would be better never to have learnt.

to the lower classes is a very important one, and it is on a very extended scale: we shall suppose that the effect is to be advantageous; but certainly that depends greatly on the books put into the hands of those who learn.

The great Lord Bacon says, that a little learning leads to infidelity, but that a full portion brings one back to true principles; now, as it is impossible to give a full portion to the lower classes, it is very essential to prevent the half-instructed from being led astray.

It is therefore respectfully suggested, that if the lower orders be instructed, a complete series of elementary books should be compiled and put into their hands, and there is not a fitter person for that purpose than the very gentleman who superintended the education of Mr. Whitbread, to whom the world is indebted for so many useful, entertaining, and instructive works.

The manner of employing the poor who depend on charity, is also an object that has occupied Mr. Whitbread. That also is a great object, and we hope that he will take into consideration the advantage of cultivating the waste lands in the kingdom. In a manufacturing country there are great numbers

tions in different branches, but agriculture is a standing mode of employing labour. It is like a reservoir or mill-pool, and should be reserved for the purpose of occupying the industry of those who, by the vicissitudes of the mercantile world, are occasionally deprived of the means of existence, without depending on public charity*.

Another object worthy of the attention of an expanded mind, is the dearness of the necessaries of life, which have doubled within the last twenty years.

It is now, on the authority of Mr. Adam Smith, an adopted maxim, that trade should be left to itself; but, with great deference to his authority, we must

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* This country is circumscribed in extent more than kingdoms on the continent; and as population and strength are dependant on cultivation, we should not lose any means of increasing that basis of power and prosperity.

It may appear that the cultivation of waste lands proceeds rapidly at this time; and if we compare it with former periods, it certainly does so; but nevertheless 1500 years would not be sufficient to cultivate all the waste lands in England, though we were to pro[illegible]as fast as we have done from the accession of his present Majesty to the throne.

say that he, in so stating in an unlimited and unqualified manner, deviated from his own principles; and that those who quote his opinion deviate still more.

Mr. Smith insists on the necessity of limiting the interest of money to five *per cent.* Is that leaving commerce free? He also admits that there is wisdom in some of the laws about bounties and drawbacks.

What is the conclusion from this? That trade in general should be left to regulate itself, but not in every instance.

When the quartern loaf rose to twenty-two-pence halfpenny, the legislature invoked Mr. Smith's principles. The famous but unfortunate letter of the Duke of Portland, invoked his principles also; but when the loaf fell under ten-pence, in 1803, an alteration was made with respect to the law for importing grain. Then regulation interfered. The quarter of wheat rose ten shillings in less than ten days, and continued to rise for ten years after! Was this justice? Was this wisdom? or, Was it adherence to principle?

Arbitrary or unnecessary regulations are surely to be avoided; but in some cases regulations are benefi-

cial, and particularly in the necessaries of life; and we most sincerely hope that Mr. Whitbread, whose independence of principle, and contempt for office, have obtained for him universal and deserved confidence, will turn his attention to that important object.

LORD WHITWORTH.

Now Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and formerly an ambassador to foreign courts. He is one of the old school; but he was never accused of the duplicity with which some of them have been charged.

He was ambassador in France during the short peace after the treaty of Amiens; and it is said mortified Buonaparte more than any other had ever done. When Buonaparte forgot his situation, and

became angry and impertinent, Lord Whitworth, who is a very fine figure of a man, preserved a dignified attitude, and remembered that he represented the king of England. This occasioned Buonaparte's rage to redouble, and he had scarcely power to abstain from blows, observing, with his down-cast eyes, that his lordship wore a sword, and knowing that he would have used it.

We have heard much in Lord Whitworth's praise; and as the opposition papers were vexed when he was sent viceroy to Ireland, we have no doubt he will fill that high situation well, and keep that restless country quiet.

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ. M. P.

THE portion of parliament known by the name of the Saints looks on Mr. Wilberforce as a sort of chief, and that sainted party gets daily more formidable.

The great affair, however, to which Mr. Wilberforce attaches his glory, and to which he trusts for immortal fame, is the abolition of the slave-trade.

It was not, however, necessary to belong to any very virtuous or religious order of men to vote for the abolition of so detestable, so inhuman, and so unchristian-like a commerce.

Mr. Fox was the person to whom the chief merit was due, and the country is at least indebted to his short administration for the happy termination of that disgraceful traffic.

It was to the benign influence of the Christian religion that we owe the abolition of slavery all over the civilized world; but in this case it was not so much religion, but the gradual increase of know-

ledge, and, with it, of liberality and humanity, that we owe the abolition of the slave-trade, and it did not require any great portion of talents, nor any daring degree of patriotism to oppose the minister in that.

No question, was ever agitated in such a disgraceful style of trimming as that relative to the abolition of that trade; Mr. Pitt the minister always voted with the minority, and in that shewed a want of candour that is not visible in any other part of his conduct*. It is the only stain on his political cha-

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* It is much to be lamented that such a man should have left such a blot in his political escutcheon; but truth obliges us to notice it with the severity it deserves. We have not spared censure in any case where we thought it deserved; for, next to the shame of a member of parliament giving a hollow support to a cause, is that of a writer who professes seriously to speak what he thinks, and who does not do so. Perhaps the writer is the more blameable of the two; for he imposes the task on himself, whereas the other finds the task imposed on him. If there is any shade of difference, it is this that makes it, but, at all events, that difference is not great. It is the truth, *as it appears to us, that we seek*, and not the support of any party.

It would be great arrogance to maintain that we must be right; but we give our opinion, and our reasons for entertaining it, which seems to be all that is requisite; we may be liable to refutation, and

›racter; but there is no denying that it is a great stain, and one that is blacker than the complexion of objects with whose liberty and happiness he trifles.

There were two errors committed by Mr. Pitt. The first was, in not supporting the cause of which he appeared to approve; and the second was, in not saying frankly and fairly, if he would not give it a solid support, that he had reasons of some sort

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shall never refuse to listen to those who are of an opposite way of thinking.

In respect to a reform in parliament, Mr. Pitt acted in some degree in the same way, and we were always surprised that he did not openly avow his change of opinion, and give his reasons for it. Certain enough it is, that he had very good reasons for not supporting the measure seriously. During the first years of his administration, we were too soon after the American war to try so great an experiment; and the great change that took place in France where the trial of equal representation was to be made, was a sufficient cause for not making the same experiment at the same time. The miserable result and the fatal consequences, together with the war in which we have ever since been engaged, were reasons more than sufficient for a change of opinion on that subject. Mr. Pitt chiefly contended, that it was not the proper time: in this he was certainly right, but it is probable he, like many others who thought seriously on the subject, altered his opinion on the safety of the business altogether.

for changing his way of acting. By reasons of some sort we mean, either a change of opinion, or a change in what he conceived, as a minister, to be his duty. Approving highly of Mr. Pitt's general conduct, which was noble and manly, we can neither account for, nor excuse him for his parliamentary conduct in the slave-trade; and therefore, being unable to say more, we shall only lament that he gave such a conclusive proof of his not being exempt from the errors entailed on human nature.

Mr. Wilberforce, naturally a man of humanity, joined zealously in this good object; but there was no great merit in that. Had he done otherwise, it would have been contrary to his interest; and, though he made more noise about it than any other, he only contributed his share, and all his efforts would have been useless, had not Mr. Fox done the business when he came into office; as also, had Mr. Wilbeforce never interfered, it would probably have been accomplished all the same.

Mr. Wilberforce is said to have given dissatisfaction on two occasions in his political conduct with respect to his constituents. He is said to have been elected for Hull, on a promise of sitting for that city, and immediately, or soon after, canvassing for

the county of York; and on the last election, he is said to have formed a coalition with Mr. Lascelles, contrary to a promise given; but there are so many tricks at elections, and so many falsities propagated, that we only mention these to give Mr. Wilberforce an opportunity of explaining how such reports could have arisen.

There is a great increase of that sort of religious influence which is separated from the established church; and it is easy to see, that at no very distant day there will be a desperate struggle, to avoid which it is not so easy to see a safe or a certain method.

The Roman catholic question is but a prelude to a discussion with the dissenters, and the liberal opinions of the day, as they are termed, are in favour of both; but we hope it will be remembered, that where equality of religion is established, there will soon be no religion at all.

GENERAL SIR ROBERT WILSON.

One of those brave, enterprising, and ingenious British officers, who never lose an opportunity of serving their country, and whose various abilities are always furnishing them with opportunities.

Sir Robert has distinguished himself in an honourable manner upon all occasions during the present war; but it is not only as a military man, for, as a man of letters, he has done great service*.

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* The atrocities of the French have been such during this revolutionary war, that posterity will not be inclined to give credit to the relation of them. It is, therefore, of great importance that they should be collected by men of known veracity, and, above all, that they should be published in such a way as to call for contradiction where they can be contradicted.

There are many Frenchmen in this country who approve of putting to death those who are badly wounded. Those men have neither religion nor morality; they are guided by expediency and conveniency, and consider soldiers as we do horses, which, when disabled, we shoot. Terrible as this way of thinking may be, there are not a few of the children of the revolution who entertain such opinions. Such is the degradation of those reformers of mankind who began by preaching up philanthropy and humanity!

In writing the history of the campaigns in which he has served, he has thrown much light on the ferocious character of the enemy; and the time seems to be approaching when the advantage of those details will be felt and appreciated.

So long as the brilliancy of conquest glossed over the crimes of the French conqueror, the utility of exposing his cruelty was only felt by a few, who considered that, in time, the actions would be seen in their true light: but the great reverse of fortune that Buonaparte has experienced, will accelerate the arrival of the time, when, stripped of the adventitious glare of recent conquest, the atrocities of the man will stand naked and bare, in all their natural deformity.

Sir Robert Wilson's assertions relative to the murder of the wounded French soldiers, and of the prisoners taken from the enemy, have been doubted in this country; but they have not been contradicted in France, which is almost equivalent to positive proof of their authenticity.

It is well known that the press of the continent has long been at the command of Buonaparte. It is no less well known that he is particularly careful to contradict whatever has been asserted in England that is in any way disagreeable to him, or derogates

from his character; the conclusion fairly to be made, is, that it could not be contradicted. We enter not at all into further particulars, for proofs are not within our reach; but we must persist in the conclusion, that the accusation being passed over in silence is a proof that there was danger in contradicting it. Buonaparte, and those who write for him, know well that, had they accused Sir Robert Wilson of having stated a falsity, he would not have remained inactive, but would have laboured night and day to defend his character; in which case the matter would have been made worse than it was. Prudence, and consciousness of guilt dictated silence under such circumstances.

As Sir Robert is now, and has been with the Russian army, from the invasion of Russia by the French, we may expect from him accurate and scientific details of the two last and most interesting campaigns; in which he has always been an intelligent observer, and occasionally a most able assistant, having been personally honoured by the applause of both the emperors, who witnessed his merit and bravery.

THE EARL OF YARMOUTH.

THIS nobleman will never be forgiven by the opposition for the ability which he shewed in commencing negotiations with the French government, and, so far as he went, for conducting them with more ability and address than the Earl of Lauderdale.

The circumstance was singularly amusing to a mere looker on, who knew from the beginning that the whole was a farce; but it was singularly mortifying to Mr. Fox's administration (also termed all the talents) to find, that Lord Lauderdale, that great writer on political economy, paper money, and silver tokens, when he went to Paris under singular advantages, displayed less dexterity than a young English nobleman who had been selected from amongst the British prisoners in France, to open a negotiation for peace under singular disadvantages.

There was something so ludicrous in all this,

that we shall recapitulate a few of the circumstances.

Mr. Fox, when he became minister in 1806, having seen Buonaparte in all his consular splendour at Paris, trembled for the fate of Britain, and contrived, by means of a real or pretended offer for the assassination of Buonaparte*, to obtain leave to make proposals for peace.

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* We have heard a very distinct detail of the circumstances of the man who presented himself to Mr. Fox, to offer to assassinate Buonaparte; but the circumstantiality of detail is not any proof of veracity; one thing however seems strange, and cannot be contested. Mr. Fox, in writing to France, said, that he had sent off the assassin to the continent, as he could not legally detain him here. Could a secretary of state be ignorant that aliens may be detained during pleasure in this country? Could a man of Mr. Fox's intellect be ignorant that the man was a miserable wretch, only seeking a means of existing, or of ending his existence; and that he would have been very happy to have ate roast beef and drank wine with a king's messenger as long as he had thought proper to treat him with such fare; as other aliens have so often done?

If Buonaparte had been aware that Mr. Fox could have kept the man so easily, he would not have been so ready to express his thanks for his sending a letter of advice of the precious cargo he was going to send off to the continent.

Lord Yarmouth, being then an English prisoner in France, was employed to bring over a sort of preliminaries, after having shewn much acuteness in his interviews with the French ministers, and displayed the true spirit of an English negotiator.

If, said the public, a young unexperienced gentleman can acquit himself so well, surely an ambassador of approved talents, attended with learned men, and other appurtenances, must succeed.

The Earl of Lauderdale was accordingly chosen for the purpose, attended by some very able secretaries, and a most excellent cook. He had, besides, the advantage of Mr. Fox (in person) writing long letters, in order to settle preliminaries*; and a tur-

* This, perhaps, was the only occasion in which we avow, and it is with shame that we do avow, that the French acted more frankly than the English. Mr. Fox insisted on the *uti possidetis*. The French observed, very truly, that our fleets being at sea when they had none, they were in ignorance what the *uti possidetis* might be, while very possibly the English knew what it was; and it has since appeared that they were right, for the expeditions to the Cape, and from the Cape to Buenos Ayres, were going on at that very time.

tle was, upon one occasion, sent over with a special messenger, in a post-chaise*, as a sort of peace-offering. After being laughed at and insulted, and being left as upon the shelf, while Buonaparte went to conquer Prussia, his lordship at length discovered that he had been amused by mock-appearances of negotiation.

It was evident, before Lord Lauderdale had begun to negotiate, that Buonaparte was preparing to inspire the continental powers with a mistrust of England, and of each other; and the British legation was the best thing possible for giving probability

* When the turtle passed through Amiens, or Abbeville, we are not certain which, the natives were astonished. Being ignorant provincials, they took the turtle for some big-bellied English knight in ancient armour, till they were told by the messenger, that the English ambassador was a London needle-maker, ambitious of being an alderman, and that the agreeable companion he had with him in the post-chaise was a peace-offering, such as a London citizen thought would be the most acceptable to the members of the legion of honour in Paris. The reader will remember that the noble earl got himself presented a candidate for civic honours as a needle-maker; but the citizens had an *eye* upon him, and were too *sharp* to *be done*.

his insinuations, and success to his manœuvres. In one word, Lord L. succeeded as badly as possible, and, it is said, was not even admitted to an interview with Talleyrand, but was pitted against negotiators of a secondary class. The representative of the British monarch had never before been so treated, even by any legitimate sovereign in the world; and the ambassador who bore it, and the ministers who sent him, have much to answer for*.

Lord Yarmouth has given another cause of offence to the same party. When they found that the Prince Regent would not absolutely change the policy of the country, abandon Spain, and the continental cause, in order to please them, they ran away, howling, and calling out that he was a very

* The people of England were so accustomed to French insolence, that they did not seem to pay much attention to the indignity with which their ambassador was treated; but the old Duke of Bedford, or Lord Stormont, or Lord Whitworth, would not have borne it a single hour. The friend of Brissot should have considered that he was not gone over to witness the bloody scenes acted in September 1792, merely as a looker on. He should have remembered that he represented the king of England.

naughty prince, and had abandoned his *early friends*; a name which they assumed, being ashamed, probably, of their former title of all the talents.

Lord Yarmouth and his noble father, the Marquis of Hertford, enjoy the prince's favour and confidence; they are, therefore, both objects of abuse; but they bear it with that good temper which is hereditary in the family of Hertford.

When the death of Mr. Perceval deranged and discouraged the administration, and the Prince of Wales shewed himself ready to make every sacrifice for the good of his country, Lords Grey and Grenville imperiously demanded the removal of the marquis and his son. The good of the nation with them was a secondary consideration; and his Royal Highness gave up the point. The marquis and his son are supposed to have considerable influence over his Royal Highness, and if they have, it is much to their honour, for they must, in that case, and on that occasion, have used it against themselves. The obstinate inflexibility of Lords Grey and Grenville alarmed the feelings of the Earl of Moira, to whom the business was left for arrangement: and thus, by the firmness of one noble lord, and the obstinacy of two, the nation was saved from a repetition of the misfortune of seeing

all the talents in office*; when that line of policy which has saved the world would probably have been abandoned, and Lord Lauderdale might now have been soliciting for peace at Paris, for the second time†.

* When Hercules subdued the seven-headed Lernæan hydra, he had a club to do it withal, and the Earl of Moira had three sticks. He may now be more proud than ever of his appropriate motto—*Et nos quoque tela sparsimus.*

† It has taken the united efforts of all the continental powers to subdue Buonaparte, with England assisting; it is therefore a necessary conclusion, that had England withdrawn, he would not have been subdued. What a mighty event has arisen from so small a cause!!

While these Portraits have been printing, which has accidentally taken longer time than was intended, several Characters have come on the Political Stage, that could not be inserted in alphabetical order.

ADDENDA.

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE

PRINCESS CHARLOTTE OF WALES.

THIS young princess is now of age; and though we hope many years may elapse before she is called to the throne of these kingdoms, yet, from this time she must be a very important, as she is now, a very interesting personage.

As yet her Royal Highness has not acted in any public capacity; but we believe our information is correct, and that she has much innate goodness of disposition, accompanied with that high spirit which is the best earnest of her wearing a brilliant diadem with splendour, firmness, and dignity*.

* Unless a queen has spirit and determination, she will be made

The number of female sovereigns who have reigned in the world have been very few, but amongst them the proportion of the good and great has far exceeded that of kings; and therefore there is no reason for any apprehension that England will suffer from the sceptre being intrusted to female hands.

It was under a queen that England first became a great and important nation. It had been great and warlike under the Edwards and Henries, but it was reserved for Elizabeth to support the oppressed, and resist the oppressors in other countries. This was an honour of a higher class than that of conquests, however brilliant; and her contemporaries as well as posterity, have all admired that noble-minded queen who seemed to be seated on the British throne, for the grand purpose of giving refuge to the victims of oppression in other countries, and at the same time giving happiness to her people in her own.

In the most ancient times great empires have owed their power and prosperity to queens. Europe

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the tool of others; and unless she has a good heart and disposition, she will be dangerous to herself and her people. The queens of whom we speak in a future note, were all women of spirit and determination, but they all sought the good of their people.

has furnished three great examples within the last century; so that, judging from the past, there is not any reason to fear the consequences of a female being seated on the British throne.

There have been many inquiries into the causes that have contributed to render the female sway so beneficial to the people over whom it has been extended; but we shall not enter into that subject, further than by observing, that in all ranks of life women appear to be more attentive to doing their duty, to those who depend on them, than men are; which accounts for their care of their subjects: and as to their capacities, though in arts, science, and abstruse studies, they may be inferior to men; yet where penetration, sagacity, and knowledge of character are requisite, they are equal, if not superior, when they have the same occasion for exertion*.

We have the best hopes, from what we have

* From history we find that all great monarchs are so chiefly by the wisdom in chusing their counsellors and servants. The sovereign can, in his or her own person, do little, therefore it is on making a proper selection of those who are to act, that success depends. The ready and penetrating sagacity of a female well educated, and deeply interested in what is doing, renders her peculiarly fit for making a good selection of servants.

heard of the Princess Charlotte; and we have only in the most respectful, but at the same time the most earnest manner, to implore her Royal Highness not to listen to any of those persons who may wish to lead her to oppose the measures of her royal father*.

It has for these seventy years been the practice in England to lead the heir apparent to oppose the reigning prince, and volumes might be filled with the misfortunes which that practice has brought on this country; but those we shall not enter upon: we only request her Royal Highness to observe the conduct of those EARLY FRIENDS, as they term themselves, now become the bitter enemies of her father. This example is enough for her Royal Highness to learn from; but if the present conduct of those early

* Maria Theresa, and Catharine II. of Russia, are names dear to their respective countries, and respected and admired over the world.

The greatness of the Assyrian empire owed its origin, if we can give faith to ancient history, to Semiramis, who reigned over and fortified Babylon, the capital. Of the less fortunate, though great examples, are Zenobia of Palmyra, Boadicea of Britain, and Christina of Sweden, who all shewed great talents, and remarkable love for the people intrusted to their care.

friends is not sufficient, we wish her Royal Highness to know, that, with those early friends, originated that unhappy difference which has taken place between her royal parents*, which the whole nation deplores, and which must be particularly distressing to herself."

Those political friends have shewn that they never were personally attached to his Royal Highness; and they have shewn a rancour of spirit, that is disgraceful if not dishonourable; for it is not permitted to betray the secrets of former intimacy, in compliance with the feelings of present enmity.

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* The early friends was a curious title. Mr. Fox, the first early friend, was no more: Lord Moira and Mr. Sheridan were not included: so that Lords Grey and Grenville represent the group of early friends. What particular friendship might be with Lord Grey, we do not know; but certainly Lord Grenville was not one of the early friends of his Royal Highness. The meaning is certainly nothing more nor less than this, that the prince, when he came into power, quitted the leaders of opposition, who were not identically, but by succession, represented as the early friends of the prince. Mr. Fox, and those who clung to opposition, and who surrounded the prince previous to his marriage, were enemies to that measure. We except Mr. Sheridan, Lord Moira, Colonel M'Mahon, and, in short, those very persons who remain his friends still, and who were attached really to him personally, and not merely for the purposes of political intrigue.

They should leave such conduct to a Lady Douglas; but it does not become those who would obtain confidence in national affairs.

Had Frederick Prince of Wales lived to mount the throne, he might probably have experienced the same treatment from his early friends; and as for his present Majesty, he came to reign at so early a period of his life, that he had never been besieged by the opposition; but this may be depended upon, that the same fate ever will attend an heir apparent, who is sufficiently unfortunate to head a party.

It is now no longer doubtful who has followed the right line of policy for these last twenty years; and the dismissal of the early friends has saved this country, and perhaps all Europe, from many years of great misfortune*.

The princess may therefore be assured, that to weaken the hands of government by countenancing the opposition, is neither wise as heir presumptive, nor becoming as to a parent. That which is contrary to nature, is generally contrary both to our interest and happiness; this is an ancient apophthegm, the truth of which is engraven on the heart from an

* The opposition writers are attempting to prove that ministers are at last adopting their plans. No assertion can be more false, and none more insulting to the common sense of mankind.

early period, and which, if forgotten, it never is so with impunity.

We believe this respectful admonition to be unnecessary in the present instance, but where an object is very important, too much pains can never be taken for its attainment; and we are perfectly aware, that great efforts will be made to induce the princess to lend her countenance to that same party that has conducted itself so ill with regard to her father, to her whole family, and to the nation*.

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* The political chiefs have generally subservient emissaries to surround princes, who gain their confidence in their hours of amusement and conviviality. We could name some of those culpable and contemptible persons, who, about the period of the birth of her Royal Highness, were too active and too successful. Such persons appear in the form of angels, but they do the work of demons; and the open and unsuspecting heart is always the most easily led astray. Where a breach is to be made between two persons, the business is peculiarly easy to a band of accomplished and amiable looking confederates. Sly insinuations, half-formed falsities, and significant looks, occasion painful feelings; and when parties are prevented, either by those feelings, or by the arts of others, from an amicable ecclaircissement, a lasting misunderstanding is the natural consequence. The best and most unsuspecting are the most ready to fall into the snare. The brave Othello listened to the wicked Iago, because he was too honourable to suspect, and felt too severely to seek explanation.

THE

HEREDITARY PRINCE OF ORANGE.

No family has deserved better of the nations of Europe than that of Nassau*, to which the Dutch

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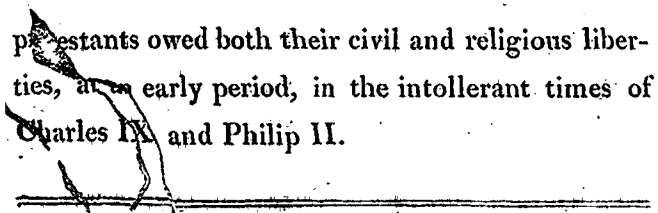
* At the death of Charles V. the Dutch provinces were in a very flourishing condition. In this small tract there were reckoned not fewer than 350 large walled cities, and 6300 considerable towns, or large villages, all become rich by their application to arts and commerce: the same application had diffused a spirit of independence among the inhabitants, and the reformed religion had made considerable progress among all ranks. It was then that Philip II. adopted those impolitic measures to advance the cause of popery, and to enforce obedience to his tyrannical deputies, which created such a spirit of disaffection as could be no longer suppressed. A deputation of the malcontents, with William Prince of Orange, and his brother Louis of Nassau, waited upon the Duchess of Parma, (who had been appointed regent of the Netherlands), and insisted either on the dismissal of her chief counsellor, the Cardinal Grandville, or the calling of an assembly of the States-general. The cardinal was dismissed, but was succeeded by two of his creatures, who trod in his footsteps, increasing religious persecutions, and the power of the


protestants owed both their civil and religious liber-
ties, at an early period, in the intollerant times of
Charles IX and Philip II.

inquisition. A remonstrance was sent to the king at Madrid, which was favourably received; but the obnoxious measures were still continued. In the mean time the diabolical combination formed by Charles IX. of France, and Isabella of Spain, for the massacre of the protestants, was known in the Netherlands; a general association was formed for the abolishing the power of the inquisition: this association, headed by Henry de Brodeurode, a descendant of the Earls of Holland, waited on the regent in such a formidable body, that she was obliged to promise her utmost influence towards obtaining their demands. It is, however, said, that she could obtain no better terms from Philip than that protestants, in future, should be hanged instead of burnt.

The people finding their remonstrances of no avail, were determined to take into their own hands the necessary reformation. Churches, &c. were destroyed in several towns of Flanders; but the principal inhabitants behaved with temperance and moderation. A new oath of allegiance was exacted: this the Prince of Orange refused to take, and retired into Germany, where he was followed by great numbers of all ranks; so that in the course of a few days 100,000 families had left the low countries. Their emigration so alarmed the duchess, that she resigned the regency, and was succeeded by the Duke of Alva, who had been sent with an army of

It was reserved for a prince of the same hou[illegible] at a later period, to assist us in England, in establishing our liberties; and certainly, to the merit and

10,000 men. The country was filled with terror, the Counts of Egmont and Horne were executed, and the estates of the Prince of Orange confiscated.

The Prince of Orange, who had been always a favourite among the people, was now invited to take the command of the armed bodies preparing to resist the Duke of Alva.

A series of brilliant successes were gained by the Prince in Brabant: several towns in Overyssel, Guelderland, and Friesland, were taken, whilst another party of the patriots made themselves masters of North Holland. The ardour of the patriots was, however, damped, and the spirit of the Spaniards revived by the news of the horrid massacre of Bartholomew. The prince found himself obliged to retire to the province of Holland, leaving the castles which he had taken to the mercy of the enemy. The affairs of the patriots now became precarious, notwithstanding they still gained some partial successes. In 1575 an attempt to negotiation took place, but they could come to no terms of accommodation. Applications were made by the patriots to Queen Elizabeth, who, on certain conditions, lent them £20,000, to be repaid the next year. The city of Ghent was taken; and the inhabitants of Antwerp joined the good cause.

The king of Spain made additional preparations for a vigorous prosecution of the war; and the States-general made another appli-

r[illegible]deration of William III. King of England, and Prince of Orange, this country owes much of its greatness. The same monarch began that resistance

cation to Queen Elizabeth, and obtained from her a promise of £100,000, and 6000 men, which she afterwards declined sending. At last the prince perceiving that little confidence was to be placed in the unanimity of provinces rent by faction, different in religion, and divided by ambition, political maxims, and private interest, formed the scheme of more closely uniting the provinces of which he was governor, and cementing them with those more contiguous, in which the protestant interest prevailed. This measure was prosecuted with that alacrity and address for which William was deservedly celebrated.

On the 23d of January 1579, deputies from the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Groningen, Overyssel, and Guelderland, met at Utrecht, and signed the alliance ever since known by the name of the Union of Utrecht, the basis of that commonwealth so renowned by the appellation of the United Provinces. The object of this union was not to divide these seven provinces from the other ten, or to renounce the pacification of Ghent; but, to preserve their liberties by more vigorous operations, and united councils, they were thus united as one province, never to be divided, by testament, sale, or agreement; but each particular province and city reserved all its privileges, rights, customs, and statutes.

Soon after this union of Utrecht, Philip did all he could to detach

to the ambition of Louis XIV. that, under his successor, ended in the humiliation of that proud monarch, and the safety of Europe.

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the Prince of Orange from the confederation; but all his promises were unavailing, and the prince was too generous to abandon a cause he had not adopted from interested motives.

At length the provinces, by the advice of the Prince of Orange, resolved to solicit the assistance and protection of the Duke of Anjou. Accordingly they solemnly renounced the allegiance of Philip, and acknowledged as their sovereign, Francis Hercules de Valois, Duke of Alençon and Anjou. But although the Prince of Orange was the great promoter of the measure, and even placed the ducal coronet on the head of the new sovereign, yet he still possessed the greatest influence and authority in the United Provinces.

When Philip found he could not bribe the Prince of Orange to his interest, he resolved to use every method to rid himself of so dangerous an opponent; he proscribed the prince, and offered 25,000 crowns to any person that would bring him to Madrid, dead or alive. The greatness of the reward, and a bigotted regard for the interests of the Catholic religion, prompted several to attempt murdering the Prince of Orange. He narrowly escaped assassination in 1582, but two years after he met his unmerited fate at Delft, by the hands of one Guion, or, as he is commonly called, Balthazar Gerrard. About the same time the Duke of Anjou died, and the provinces of Holland and Zealand appointed Maurice, son

The Dutch republic had been on the decline from the time of William and Mary, till the French revolution put an end to its government and its commerce at a single blow. The time, however, is now arrived when nations are aware of the necessity of resisting the French; when they are also resolute and able, and when that happy end is likely to be speedily accomplished.

No people ever threw off a foreign yoke in a manner more moderate, yet with greater resolution or quickness than the Dutch have lately done; and the only great question is, whether the Catholic provinces of ancient Belgium should be united with the protestant, as they were when under the dominion of the Spanish monarchs.

The prince who is now called to reign, shewed himself to be an able commander at the beginning of the war with France, particularly at the time

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of the late Prince of Orange, to be their Stadtholder, and Captain-general.

A truce was soon after concluded with Spain for twelve years, upon the expiration of which hostilities recommenced, which ended by a treaty of peace, establishing the independence of the Seven United Provinces.

when he had a separate command at Charleroi in Brabant, in 1794.

As at that period the allies were obliged to quit the field, the prince came to this country with his father, and he has not since, we believe, been engaged in any military capacity; indeed, the continent was so overrun for fifteen years, that there was nothing to be done but to preserve integrity of principles till the storm should exhaust itself.

Once more the United Provinces will enjoy liberty and happiness under the princes of this illustrious house; and we hope that, profiting by past experience, they will in future give them a more zealous support than they have hitherto done.

The Dutch have been famous for treating their benefactors with ingratitude; but it was through a mistaken zeal for liberty, and it is to be hoped that the error is over.

The hereditary prince is one of the greatest promise. He has served as aid-de-camp to the great Wellington, in such a manner as to obtain his personal esteem, both for bravery and other good qualities.

One of the most marked traits of Lord Wellington's character is, that he is one of the most sincere

and candid men on earth; he neither flatters nor neglects, but treats men as they deserve; and therefore nothing is so honourable a testimony as for those who are under his eye, and near his person, to obtain his esteem.

Lord Wellington is penetrating and clear sighted, and not like many well-disposed men, who bestow their favours through good nature and ignorance of the real character. We cannot say more than, that, by *acting* with the bravery hereditary in his family, and as if he depended on good conduct and attention for promotion, this young prince has gained the esteem and friendship of the first captain of the age.

EARL OF ABERDEEN.

A YOUNG nobleman, whose abilities were so well known to, and confided in by the present ministers, that he was chosen by them, without any exertion on his own part, to go in a diplomatic capacity to the emperor of Germany.

At this eventful period all those who reside with the allied sovereigns require to be men of talents and confidence. As to honour and integrity we are proud to say, that there is no example of an Englishman that would betray his country, in the smallest point, for the greatest reward.

In finishing these portraits we are happy to have this opportunity of repeating what we said at the beginning, that we had nothing to report, either of cowards or traitors, such characters at this time being not to be found amongst public men in this country.

We have weak men, and men addicted to vices of a lesser nature; but it never enters into the mind

of any one who knows the character of the British, (including the three kingdoms) to suspect any public man of such black crimes*.

At a time when so many nations have been ruined, and so many sovereigns betrayed, this is a proud consideration; yet we should never think of complimenting a British ambassador on his integrity, any more than on his having the use of speech, or of being able to write.

Our military have found a school in Spain which has taught them to beat their enemies; and with the allied sovereigns, our diplomatists will learn not to be overreached, as has formerly been the case far too frequently.

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* A defaulter now and then in a public office is not an exception to what we say; such men, in the first place, are not politically trusted, it is a mere mercantile, mercenary fraud. General Whitelock's case is the most suspicious; but we have reason to believe that his ill humour with his officers had met with a retaliation very justifiable on their part, that unhinged his faculties at the moment.

SIR JOHN NEWPORT, BART. M. P. *

THIS worthy baronet is precisely the sort of patriot that is wanted for the improvement and happiness of Ireland.

We have said in another place, that the generous but rash and hasty people of Ireland have been always kept in a ferment by orators and writers who persuade them that they are very ill treated by England. This has been found always an easy, and sometimes a profitable task; and so many have laboured in its performance, that there has scarcely been the smallest interruption to numerous complaints and remonstrances. Though the state of Ireland has been ameliorated greatly since the family of Brunswick came to the throne, and particularly during the reign of his present Majesty, we do

* By accident the portrait of this true friend of his country was mislaid till it was too late to insert it in its proper place.

not find that complaints have decreased; and, since the principal amelioration took place, the country has been at one time in open rebellion, and connected with the government of France.

The Irish are generous, good-hearted, and affectionate, but they are hasty and inconsiderate; and, as they are peculiarly susceptible to the influence of eloquence, they have been terribly misled; and this has been the more easily effected, that the common people are kept in a wretched state of poverty and ignorance.

The poverty and ignorance are not, however, owing to England, but partly to the proprietors of the soil, partly to the religion* of the majority, and partly to the indolence of the people living under such circumstances.

Of those three causes, one only can be expected to be removed. We cannot expect the catholics of

* On the continent of Europe, the parts inhabited by protestants are better cultivated, the habitations more comfortable and rich than where they are inhabited by Roman catholics. Even catholic travellers themselves admit this, and therefore those who have not seen it, may believe it to be true.

Ireland to change their religion; but much as we wish they would do so, we hope it will not be done merely with a view to get rid of priests and fast-days, but that they may labour more, and pray less: neither can we expect them to change their nature, which is certainly inclined to carelessness and indolence*; but the proprietors of the soil we do hope to see change their conduct.

Sir John Newport is extremely attentive to every local improvement, every practical amelioration that can be effected; and thereby shews himself not only a true friend to his country, but shews that he understands how it can best be improved; and at the same time let us add, he proves that factious motives, or his own interest, do not influence his conduct†.

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* The way the lower order of Irish live when they come to this country shews that they are either careless by nature or by the early habits of life.

† A work to point out the mode of improving the situation of the peasantry in Ireland, in Russia, and in Poland, has long been ready for the press, but it has hitherto been delayed for want of encouragement. Perhaps when peace comes, it may meet with proper support; if not, an outline that will not cost much is intended to be printed.

We regret that we have no more similar portraits of his countrymen to give; particularly, as the disinterestedness of Sir John is, if possible, surpassed by the earnestness with which he seeks to serve his native country.

MARSHAL DAVOUST.

One of the most wicked of the French generals, the most cruel, ferocious, and rapacious*.

His conduct at Hamburgh is, perhaps, the most atrocious of any throughout the terrible revolution, because it is now without any sufficient motive. When war is commenced, many things may become

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* Davoust was one of the worst private characters, even in his youth, and before the revolution began, and is accused of many acts of theft, murder, and plunder, for his own private advantage; particularly in causing a Prussian officer, named Boulow, to be guilotined at Ostend as an English spy, in order to seize six thousand louis and other property belonging to him.

necessary that it would be highly desirable to avoid, and of such a class of events, none is so striking, or so frequently occurs, as that of making the innocent inhabitants of a city suffer during a siege.

When such an event happens through necessity, it is a misfortune rather than a matter of blame; but, not only have the inhabitants of Hamburgh been made to suffer without necessity, or even utility, but the evils have been aggravated by every means that was in the power of the *despot*, or the instruments of his cruelty. Buonaparte and Davoust seem to be making a trial in the face of the whole world to shew how far they can exert their wickedness and cruelty before the hand of heaven crushes them and their iniquity.

It will be a disgrace to the allied powers, if, in restoring to mankind their liberty, they do not avenge the world for the nefarious and wanton atrocities of this worst of men. There is no doubt that much must be forgiven and forgotten in the present case; and, indeed, if it were not, a great portion of the French nation must be brought to punishment, for they rejoiced in the success of their plundering army till the last moment. The burning of Moscow was celebrated with general marks of enthusiasm,

and of individual joy all over France. It was not till fortune changed, that the French began to disapprove of the robbing, plundering, and murdering system.

Such superlatively villanous and wicked men as Davoust ought not, however, to partake of the general indemnity. He and some others have sinned beyond forgiveness, and they ought to be punished for the sake of future example*.

---

* The reason for giving Davoust in the Addenda, and not before, is, that, had it not been for the atrocity to Hamburgh, as useless as it is inexplicable, he would not have merited notice more than many other members of the legion of honour.

THE END.

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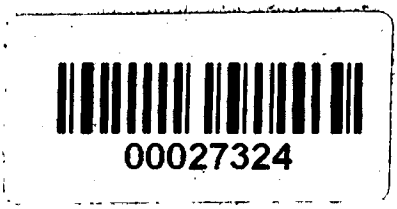
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